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SERAN VANJI

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(VANJI, THE CAPITAL OF THE CHERAS)

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BY

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to

His Highness

Sir Sri RAMA VARMA, G.C.I.E., LL.D.,

Maharaja of Cochin

INTRODUCTION

VANJI, the capital of the Chēra kingdom and the Chēra kingdom itself have alike been taken usually to be in the region of the West Coast, the rulers of the kingdom being generally known in Tamil, the Western kings as distinct from the eastern Chola and the southern Pāṇḍya, the region between having been more or less divided among a number of sub-kings, generally described in Tamil as *ḳurunila mannar*. This belief was rudely disturbed by the publication of the work, Sēran Senguṭṭuvan by Rao Saheb Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar of the Tamil Lexicon Office, followed by another work Vānjimānakar written in support of the previous work by Mahāvidvān R. Raghava Aiyangar of the Sētu Samastānam. The contention of these Pandits was that Karūr, now in the Trichinopoly District on the banks of the Amarāvati, more correctly Āmravati, is the Vanji of the Chēras, and what follows in consequence, the river Amarāvati is the river Ān-Porundam associated with it. This new theory was far from being accepted by Tamil scholars, some of whom put themselves to the trouble of solemnly controverting the new theory, among them the late Mr. Srinivasa Pillai of Tanjore. This position received comparatively small support among scholars, though it had been maintained by the authors with unabated enthusiasm. The matter came to a head with the publication of the translation of the Silappadikāram by Mr. V. R. Ramachandradikshitar of the History Department of the Madras University, who, in the notes that he has added to the translation, has taken it upon himself to testify to the final character of this view which took Tamil scholars interested in the subject by surprise, among them Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, K.C.I.E., the Diwan of Cochin. To a casual question by him as to my view of the matter, I gave the reply that my views remain the same as they were, as embodied in my lectures to the Madras University more than a score of years ago. The question was taken up before the Oriental Conference, which was timed to assemble in Tirupati, where the matter was discussed, I believe without adopting any decisive resolution upon the subject.

Apart from this, Sir Shanmukham had spoken on a previous occasion about making some archaeological excavation on the site of a mound called Chēramānparamba, a little way from the Vanjikuḷam temple. This site is popularly said to be the site of the palace of the Chēramān Perumāḷ, the royal saint of the Chēras of the 8-9th century. Speaking about the matter, he invited me to go and inspect the spot and advise in regard to the matter. I readily agreed to do so. He took the opportunity of this present discussion and wanted me to go down on the visit. I did so soon after returning from the Oriental Conference at Tirupati. Thanks to the excellent arrangements of the Diwan, I was able to examine the locality satisfactorily along with the Diwan himself, and the Diwan Peishkar Mr. K. Achyuta Menon, a very well informed gentleman in regard to all matters connected with the locality, the State Archaeologist, Mr. Anujan Achan, and Mr. Joseph Mundasseri, the Head of the Vernacular Department of the Trichur College, among others.

As Sir Shanmukham wanted a reconsideration by me of the position of Vanji and my own verdict upon it, I took it upon myself to re-examine the whole position. I thought the best way of doing it would certainly be not to follow the controversial method involving dissipation of energy in dealing with all kinds of unconnected matter brought into the discussion. The best procedure to adopt, to arrive at a verdict, would be to review the whole of the evidence, and present it in a form easily understood by the reader, even the lay reader, so that, on a judgment of the material thus presented, a careful reader might form his own conclusion. I have adopted that method as the most convenient and satisfactory way of giving my own verdict on an evaluation of the evidence thus reviewed in full. The reader has now the material before him to form a judgment of his own, independently of any conclusions to which I may have given expression in the course of the work. I hope the publication of this would help towards the attainment of a final conclusion on the subject. It is none too soon, nor is it needless waste of time and energy to do this, as the testimony of the translator of the Silappadikāram, and the fact that the authoritative University Tamil Lexicon equates Karūr, the Karūr of the Trichinopoly

District, with the Vanji of the Chēras, would give to the position a finality which it never has had. I have, as far as may be, tried to let the evidence speak for itself contenting myself with expounding wherever such exposition was required in regard to the literature bearing upon the problem.

I acknowledge with the greatest pleasure my obligation to Sir Shanmukham Chettiar for having given the occasion and for providing the facilities for my local examination. I am no less obliged to the other gentlemen, whose names I have already mentioned. I may add to the list the name of my old friend, Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, who had presented a paper to the Oriental Conference on this subject, and whose paper I am publishing in the Journal of Indian History for August 1940. I mention it with pleasure as it provides the curious reader the controversial matter of reviewing the arguments of the others, which I wanted actually to avoid in this work. I hope the reader will find all the relevant material before him to arrive at a correct conclusion independently of other opinion. Pandit Venkatasvami Nattar, late of the Annamalai University, offered to co-operate in the work; but the distance at which he lives made it impossible for me to accept his offer. I am nevertheless grateful to him for the offer.

"Sripadam"
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Dated 8th August 1940.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

THE CHERA COUNTRY AND ITS CAPITAL

Early divisions of South India

It is well known that what is called South India in historical times has been a well recognised division of India, marked off distinctly from Hindustan, the country north of the Vindhyas and the Dakhan, the country between the Vindhyas and the Krishna and the Tungabadra, more or less roughly. This seems to have been known, among the inhabitants of the south generally, by the term Tamiḷakam, Draviḍaka of the Sanskritists, or the Dimirika or Limerika of the classical geographers, Greek and Roman. This southern division from the earliest times onwards has had the reputation of having been divided among the three crowned-kings, the Chola, Pāndya and Chēra, and a number of chieftains of lower rank who held their territory under the suzerainty of these monarchs, but always on the look out to throw off this suzerainty and rule independently, if they could. While the Mahābhārata and the Ramayana do contain references to one or other of these regions, the first definite and datable reference to this region and its divisions is in the edicts of Asoka. The second Rock Edict makes reference to these divisions in the following order, Chola, Pānḍya, Kēraḷaputta, Satīyaputta and Tambapanni. The last of course stands for Ceylon, and we may disregard it for our purpose. Of the other four, the last one has been located in the Southern Mahratta country more or less, leaving the other three in the south. This would mean that in the estimation of Asoka and his officials, this region of the south was more or less divided among the three kings, Chola, Pāndya and Chēra, Kēraḷaputra, as the Edict has it. Asoka's edicts however do not locate these divisions strictly except to mention them in this order. The following extract contains the Girnar version of Edict 2 which contains this passage.—

(*a*) "Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewiṣe among (his) borders, such as the Chodas, the Panḍyas, the Satīyaputa, the Kētalaputa, even Tamraparni, the Yona king Antiyaka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyaka-everywhere two (kinds of) medical

treatment, were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (*viz.*) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle".

South India and the classical Geographers

Apart from this edict, there are just a few stray references to one or other of these southern kingdoms in Megasthenes. They are too meagre for building upon. We may however say that these southern kingdoms were in existence in the period of the Mauryan Empire as kingdoms, and were definitely known as such to the Mauryan Emperor Asoka, who might have had diplomatic relations with them. Beyond this, there seems to have been a considerable amount of intercourse between the north and the south, as we find both Buddhism and Jainism had a considerable body of followers in South India, and there are here and there hints of their having been important communities in South India. The advent of the Andhras to power in mid-India brings them into touch with the south; but they seem to stop short of the Tamil South. So our knowledge of South India remains meagre, except for these occasional references, till the beginning of the Christian era. With the beginning of the Christian era, however, we come upon a little more information as there are some few references to South India and its commerce from those who visited the region for purposes of commerce. That opens up a new vista of South Indian History, which certainly has to be made up from Tamil literature mostly. There is a reference in Megasthenes which seems specifically to refer to the Chēra country as the following passage in his Ancient India seems to indicate.—"Next follow the Naroe enclosed by the loftiest of the Indian mountains, Capitalia............................... The poorer king of the Charmoe has but 60 elephants, and his force is otherwise insignificant". According to Wigram, Megasthenes' Naroe refers to the Nayars of Malabar, and Charmoe to the Chēras. His reference to the south being ruled by queens is too indefinite to build upon. A later writer Eratosthenes following close upon Megasthenes happens to mention Cape Comorin. An account of a voyage to India from the coast of Egypt is mentioned by Strabo who speaks of a Greek sailor,

a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus who undertook a voyage under the guidance of a Hindu sailor from the Red Sea to the West Coast followed by another one in the reign of Cleopatra of Egypt. But regular voyages became the fashion after the discovery of the south-west monsoon by a Greek sailor Hippalos, by whose name the monsoon wind has come to be known to the Greeks. That was about the year A.D. 47. But for anything like a definite reference to the West Coast we have to go to Pliny, A.D. 23 to A.D. 79. The following passage contains some specific details which are of value. Pliny says: "To those bound for India, it is most convenient to depart from Okelis (now Galla or Cella, a small bay within the straits of Babelmandeb). They sail thence with the wind Hippalos in forty days to the first emporium of India, *Muziris* (Koḍungalūr), which is not a desirable place to arrive at on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood who hold a place called *Nitria*, which is not supplied with merchandise. Besides, the station for ships is at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this, *Caelabothras*. Another port belonging to the nation is the more convenient *Neacyndon*—which is called *Bacare*. There reigned Pandion in an inland town, far distant from the emporium, called Modura—the region, however, from which they convey pepper to Bacare in boats formed from single logs in Cottonara (Kottarakara)". This passage is extremely interesting for many reasons. Ships set sail from the mouth of the Red Sea and reached the southern port Muziris after a forty days' voyage across the Arabian Sea. This is said to have been due to the monsoon wind Hippalos. The next fact of importance is that the neighbourhood of the port Muziris was infested with pirates, and this part of the coast had to be avoided to reach the port. Another inconvenience mentioned is that the port was not reachable by ships direct, and small boats had to be employed to bring cargoes. The rulers of the locality are called by Pliny *Caelobothras*; as near as a Roman could bring himself to pronounce *Kēraḷaputra* of the Asoka Edicts. The next port of importance more convenient than Muziris is said to be a port Neacyndon, somewhat in the interior, but offering a convenient landing place at what he calls Bacare. Bacare has now been satisfactorily identified with Vaikkarai opposite to Kottayam on the coast, and Pliny's Neacyndon has been identified with a place near that region also. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai called it Neikunram. Others have identified the place with Nīnḍakarai. But the fact of

importance to be noted is that it was under the rule of the Pandyan whose capital according to Pliny was in the far interior at Madura. But the port was however in a pepper producing district; when he wrote it was Cottonara, as near as may be to Kuṭṭanāḍu, not the well known town of Kōṭṭārakara. Pliny makes the interesting remark which is of great value that the balance of trade was in favour of India, which amounted to 55,000,000 sesterces in gold, equivalent to £ 4,86,979, chiefly in exchange for spices and other luxury, such as pearl and silks, as Pliny remarks elsewhere. Pliny therefore who lived in the first century, and might have written some time about A. D. 70, or a little later, mentions distinctly the Kēraḷaputra country, the port of Muziris in which a Chēra monarch lived at the time that he was writing, and states that the neighbourhood was infested by pirates, all three points capable of direct confirmation from early Tamil literature.

In connection with the same subject, the Periplus notes.—

"53. Beyond Calliena there are other market-towns of this region; Semylla, Mandagora, Palaepotmae; Melizigara, Byzantium Togarum and Aurannoboas. Then there are the islands called Sesecrienae and that of the Aegidii, and that of the Caenitae, opposite the place called Chersonesus (and in these places there are pirates); and after this the White Island. Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica, and then Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance.

54. Tyndis is of the Kingdom of Cerobothra; it is a village in plain sight by the sea. Muziris, of the same Kingdom, abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia, and by the Greeks; it is located on a river, distant from Tyndis by river and sea five hundred stadia, and up the river from the shore twenty stadia. Nelcynda is distant from Muziris by river and sea about 500 stadia, and is of another Kingdom, the Pandian. This place also is situated on a river, about one hundred and twenty stadia from the sea.

55. There is another place at the mouth of this river, the village of Bacare; to which ships drop down on the outward voyage from Nelcynda, and anchor in the roadstead to take on their cargoes; because the river is full of shoals and the channels are not clear. The kings of both these market-towns live in the interior. And as a sign to those approaching these places from the sea there are serpants coming forth to meet you, black in colour, but shorter, like snakes in the head, and with blood-red eyes".

56. They send large ships to these market-towns on account of the great quantity and bulk of pepper and malabathrum. There are imported here, in the first place, a great quantity of coin; topaz, thin clothing, not much; figured linens, antimony, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, lead; wine, not much, but as much as at Barygaza; realgar and orpiment; and wheat enough for the sailors, for this is not dealt in by the merchants there. There is exported pepper, which is produced in quantity in only one region near these markets, a district called Cottonara. Besides this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stones of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise shell; that from Chryse Island, and that taken among the islands along the coast of Damirica. They make the voyage to this place in a favourable season who set out from Egypt about the month of July, that is Epiphi".

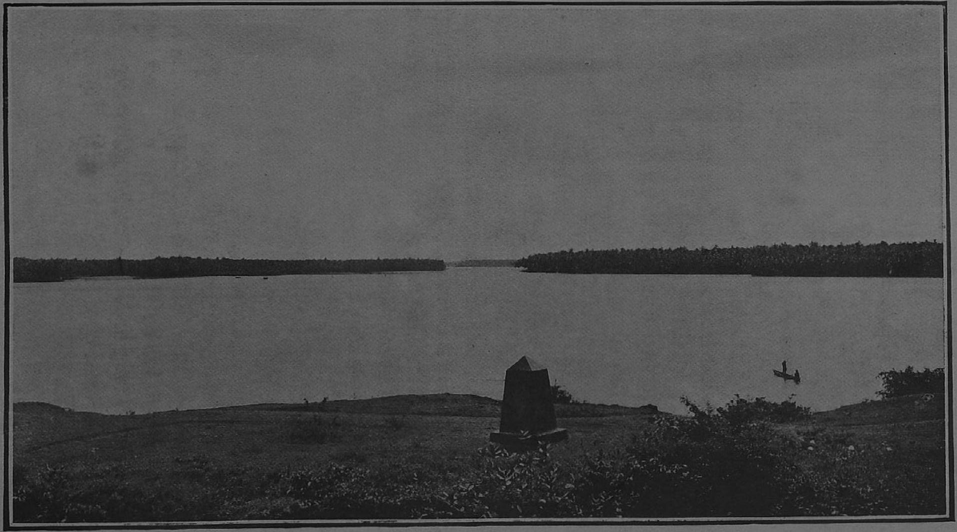
Dramidaka or Tamilakam on the West Coast: the Chera Country

The extracts above make it clear that the Tamil land on the West Coast, Ḍimirika as the Periplus writes it, Ḍimirīka or Limirika of other writers, the latter by error, all stand for the Sanskrit Dramiḍaka, perhaps formed from the word Tamiḻakam, which is used in classical Tamil literature, begins with two towns called by this writer Naura and Tindis. There is no doubt about the latter which is a Tamil name Tonḍi, Kuṭṭuvan Tonḍi or Śēran Tonḍi as opposed to Śoḻan Tonḍi on the east coast, and has been satisfactorily identified with Quilandy or Kaḍalundy on the West Coast somewhere north of Beypore, about 50 miles north of Kranganore. The name Naura is not quite so clear. In this form it is also mentioned by Pliny, while Ptolemy has in its place Nitra or Nitrias, which gives us the clue. The town of Nitra or Nitrias must be Mangalore as the river debouching into the sea just to the south of Mangalore is called Nētrāvati, from which the name must have been formed. It is opposite this that an island is located, a rendezvous of pirates. The island itself is called Nitra also, but sometimes Lieuke or white island. We may therefore take it safely that, according to these classical writers, the Tamil country on the West Coast began at Mangalore, as in fact Malabar did in later historical times. The coast region immediately to the north of this, and very often including Mangalore and some way to the south of it as far as Cannanore belonged to the Tuḻu country, the real Malaiyāḻam country beginning

therefrom. The definite indication that we get is 500 stadia to the south takes us to Muziris and another 500 stadia to the farther south to a place called Melkinda or Neakinda. On this specification of distance we get three towns, Mangalore, Muziris, and Neakinda or its coast town Bakare on the coast, opposite Kottayam. Another noteworthy point is that Toṇḍi is said to be in the Chēra kingdom. Muziris is said to be in the same kingdom also, and is described as a flourishing port, to which a large number of ships came both from Arabia and perhaps from Egypt, from the Greeks as it is set down. Both these answer exactly to the Yavanas of Tamil writers. It is said to be on a river 500 stadia from Toṇḍi. Another 500 stadia from there is Melkinda, which is said to be included by this writer in the Pandyan kingdom, and the town he called Nelkinda is said to be 120 stadia, or about twelve miles from the coast, the coast town according to this author being Bacare, as near as may be to the Malaiyāḷam Vaikkarai. The limits therefore of the Chēra kingdom along the coast north to south, thus get marked, and, at any rate, according to Pliny, the capital city is said to have been at Muziris, the Tamil equivalent of which is Muśiri or Muyiri. There are two capital features mentioned which are noteworthy. The coast immediately to the north is described as pirate infested, as in fact the port of Mangalore and the island opposite are said clearly to have been the nest of pirates. This corresponds to the region of the Kaḍambas of Tamil literature who are described as "Kaḍambas of the sea" who were of piratical character perhaps, and had to be put down as such by more than one Chēra king. The principal export of this region is described to be pepper which is supposed to come from a place which this writer calls Cottonara, the Tamil equivalent of which is perhaps Kuṭṭanāḍu, the country immediately north of the Pāṇḍya country. This writer further makes it clear that the trade was not only over the sea; but even across land, as many of the commodities of trade were articles brought down to the West Coast from the east, and having been imported from countries across the Bay of Bengal and even distant China.

The Chera Kingdom of Ptolemy

Passing on to the next classical writer, Ptolemy who came perhaps a generation or two later, we get similar details about what



Muziris Harbour : *Alimukham*

he writes of towns in Limirica, which seems to be plainly an error for Dimirica. He begins with Tindis or Tondi and gives the same specification of distance as Pliny. According to him, this sea-port town is said to be situated in the pepper country. Among other towns mentioned along the coast, we get of course Muziris. This Muyiri or Muyirikkodu of the Tamils was undoubtedly the ancient port, and, according to Ptolemy, it was the capital of the Chēra kingdom. It has been identified with Kranganūr on the basis of even some of the early inscriptions. The earliest Syrian Christian record gives it the alternative name Mākōdai or Mākodaipattinam. It is the mouth of the river, on which this town is situated that is described by the name Pseudostomos or false mouth; that is, the mouth of the Periyār, which is a couple of miles from Muziris on the coast. This river-mouth is called in the local language Alimukham, and the place where the town stood seems to be marked by the present day Alikkodu. About some distance to the south from Muziris is marked the town Nelkinda which has not perhaps been satisfactorily identified as yet; but everyone seems to be agreed it has to be looked for somewhere about the region of Kottayam and possibly on the Achan Kovil river, which goes into the sea some miles down at Bakare, the Vaikkarai of Malaiyālam people. In this part Ptolemy also mentions Koreoura of which the given longitude and latitude are 118° 40″ minutes and 14° and 20″, and it is midway between Bakare and Muziris. But among the inland cities, Ptolemy mentions also Koreura, which he marks as the royal seat of the Kerabothras and locates it at 119° and 16° 20″ minutes, meaning apparently that it was much more inland than Muziris, which is 117° and 14°. The longitude and latitude as given by Ptolemy could not be relied on; but on this piece of evidence of Ptolemy we have to note there are a number of places which go by the name, the equivalent of Karūr, and that none of these, not even the Karūr of the interior, could be taken as far as Karūr in the Trichinopoly District. Judging by the indications given in Ptolemy this must be a Karūr in the region of the Chēras between the coast and the Ghats, and we could not go beyond the Ghats, to look for it. From the details that we have thus been able to gather from the classical writers who collected their information from sailors and others who visited this part of the coast, we have distinct evidence that the Chēra country was a coast country extending all along the coast for

a length of 1000 stadia, and, as far as could be made out from the details given, though there is no explicit statement of the fact, lay probably between the Ghats on the eastern side and the Arabian Sea. The Chēra is mentioned as the ruler of the country in two or three different forms, but all of them quite capable of being equated with Chēraputra, or Kēraḷaputra. We do not know of the name Chēraputra, as such, although the term Sērar-perumān or perumakan occurs in classical Tamil works, and the Chēramān in a later form. The Kēraḷaputra is a familiar enough term both in the Asoka inscriptions and even later. In the days of the classical writers therefore the Chēra kingdom was a coast country with a capital also situated in the coast region not very far from the sea.

The Chera country in Silappadhikaram and Manimekhalai

Let us now proceed to consider the position of the Chēra country as such and its capital Vanji, as it is called, in two Tamil classics, Ṡilappadhikāram and Maṇimēkhalai. Though modern scholars have allotted these works to two different periods far apart from each other, Tamil scholars still regard the two as connected with each other in the manner indicated in the works themselves as constituting a twin-epic, according to the canons of Tamil criticism. There is really no reason so far put forward to depart from their view, and it would be hardly necessary that we should traverse the question here. It should be enough however to state it that the Ṡilappadhikāram by itself will not answer to the description of an epic unless the Maṇimēkhalai is taken along with it; for by itself it does not deal with the heroe's life in full to comprehend the four ends of human existence. This apart, there is perhaps the prosaic consideration that the author of the Ṡilappadhikāram was the brother of Ṡenguṭṭuvan, the ruler of the time, in which the transactions of the Ṡilappadhikāram actually took place. The name of the author of the other work Maṇimēkhalai is referred to in the course of the Ṡilappadhikāram itself as a friend both of the ruler, Ṡenguṭṭuvan, and his brother, the author. Not only that. He is brought into intimate connection with the story of the Ṡilappadhikāram itself, so that unless we are prepared to regard the whole of the two works as a deliberate piece of fabrication, we could hardly separate the one

from the other. Since the Śilappadhikāram is said in so many words to be intimately connected with the three crowned-kings of the south, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chēra, and the Maṇimekhalai also, without such an explicit statement, it would be well if we could collect together what is stated in the two works regarding these three separately to form an idea as to where these two works place the Chēra country and its capital. We can then proceed to consider the so-called Śangam works of Tamil literature in regard to this particular matter.

The Story of the Two Epics

The Śilappadhikāram and the Maṇimēkhalai together deal with the life story of a beautiful courtesan in the Chōla capital of Kaveri-paṭṭinam by name Mādhavi and her beautiful daughter Maṇimē-khalai. The son of the principal merchant of the Chola capital by name Kovalan fell in love with her to the neglect of his wife, who was of a social standing equal to his. Kovalan went on in this kind of life till he found occasion to think that the courtesan he was so infatuated with, was not actually as much attached to him, as he had a right to expect. He became repentent and wanted to reform by setting up in life again, if possible in the Pāṇḍya capital of Madura, to regain the fortune which he had lavished away upon his concubine thus wasting away all the great wealth he got from his father. In this repentent mood, he told his wife of his determination. While agreeing readily to provide him the necessary capital with the only one precious jewel still left with her, the very highly costly anklet that she was still wearing, out of the costly equipment of the jewels provided by her parents, she told him of her resolution to accompany him, and not to part from him any more. He agreed to take her with him, and both of them left in the small hours of the morning, while the town was still asleep to avoid people noticing his going away from the place. At the end of the first stage of his journey, he took up a Jain nun as companion for his wife, and they moved along by way of Śrīrangam to the Pāṇḍya capital. Having entered Madura, he placed the wife in charge of a shepherdess in the outskirts of the town, and entered the city bazaars carrying one of his wife's anklets for selling it. It happened at the time that a similar anklet worn by the queen of Madura happened to be lost, and the queen was in consequence disconsolate with grief. The royal goldsmith,

the really guilty man, found the stranger with a single anklet handy for his purpose, and showed him up as the thief. The monarch ordered the killing of the thief and the recovering of the jewel from him, as the result of his unusual concern for the distress of the queen at the loss of her jewel. This departure from his usual circumspect dispensing of justice brought its own retribution in quite a tragic way. When the wife of the merchant who was killed heard of what had happened, she carried the other anklet in her hand and presented herself in front of the Pāṇḍyan palace, crying out the perpetration of the injustice to bring it to the notice of the monarch. Discovering the grave error and injustice that he thoughtlessly committed, the monarch died immediately of a broken heart at this perpetration of injustice damaging to the reputation of Pandya Sovereigns of Madura, followed by his wife instantaneously. The disconsolate widow passed through the streets of Madura to the temple of the city-goddess, who appeared and explained to her that what had happened had come about as a result of their own deeds in a previous existence, and told her that she would be taken to her husband a fortnight afterwards and would rejoin him though not in the human form, or in this life. She pursued the path indicated to her by walking along one of the banks of the river Vaigai going out of the Western Gateway of Madura, till she passed across the Western Ghats; and, on the day appointed, she was hoisted to heaven by a divine host within sight of the hill-folk engaged in their own daily avocations. These carried information of the strange occurrence to the Chēra monarch, who was out on an excursion of pleasure, as an unusual phenomenon in his country. Having heard of this extraordinary occurrence, the king in consultation with his queen, resolved to perpetuate the memory of this virtuous woman by installing her image in a shrine, and consecrating it for worship thereafter. There ends the story of the first work, the 'Silappadhikāram so-called because the story relates to the 'Silambu or anklet, which was the moving cause of the tragic occurrence. Having heard of the departure of Kovalan from Kaveripaṭṭinam, the courtesan, who was quite innocent of what her lover imagined she was guilty of, resolved to retire from the profession to the distress of her own mother; and the beautiful little daughter of hers, who bore the name Maṇimēkhalai, just attaining to the age of discretion, resolved, with the consent of the mother, to renounce life and become a Buddist nun. The story of the renunciation

of the beautiful young daughter, of the courtesan, forms the subject of the poem Maṇimēkhalai. 'Silappadhikāram deals with the three ends of human life, *aṟam, poruḷ, inbam*; the practice of righteousness (*dharma*), the acquisition of wealth (*artha*); its application to secure legitimate enjoyment (*kāma*). These are covered in the story narrated in the 'Silappadhikāram so-called. The renunciation of life by the young courtesan Maṇimēkhalai, almost at the outset of her life, constitutes the fourth end of human existence, renunciation (*tuṟavu* or *mōksha*). The two works together constitute the life story of the mother and the daughter, and thus constitute one epic which, according to the demands of Tamil literary standards, ought to take the hero or the heroine through the four stages of life indicated by these four *purushārthas* or ends of human existence. The first part of the story comprised in the 'Silappadhikāram is ostensibily to deal with the three crowned monarchs, and is taken up with the Chēra and his country and capital. The second work similarly has to do with the Chēra country in respect of certain details of the story. We shall consider these details and collect together what of geographical and historical details or facts we can get from these.

The Silappadhikaram itinerary of Kannaki-Madura to Vanji

The first work 'Silappadhikāram has really much that is of real importance to say in regard to the Chēra country, and its capital, and is likely to prove of the greatest value in settling the question of the actual position of the latter. Apart from incidental references here and there, the story takes us through a regular journey all the way from the Chola capital, Puhār, at the mouth of the Kaveri through Uraiyūr to Madura and thence to the Chēra capital Vanji. We ought therefore to learn something definite about the location of the Chēra country at the time, and the actual name and situation of its capital. We shall therefore closely follow, and even literally, the course adopted in the 'Silappadikāram, particularly from Madura to Vanji, and try to locate the capital on the basis of this without bringing in other details in this particular connection. The story leads the party from Trichinopoly onwards to Madura without incident,

and in Madura happened the mishap to the party in the death of Kovalan by order of the Pāṇḍyan king. The wife Kaṇṇaki over-mastered by the calamity brings about the destruction of the city by fire. After hearing from the goddess of the city *that what had happened had come about as the result of previous* deeds without any one, not even the Pāṇḍyan king, being really to blame for what had taken place, and that she could not hope to meet her husband in human life again, she accepted patiently the inevitable that, fourteen days later, she would meet her husband in the company of the Gods. Kaṇṇaki, distraught with grief, accepted the consolation the goddess offered, and resolved not to rest till she met her husband after the fortnight. She proceeded through the town, and, in front of the temple of Durga, broke the bracelets of conch she wore, and saying that she had entered the city through the east gate happy in the company of her husband, and that it had fallen to her lot to leave the city only one day after by the west gate alone. Helpless and confounded with grief, she proceeded night and day along one of the banks of the river Vaigai, and, almost unconscious in her grief that she was stepping into hollows in the way or getting up heights, she slowly ascended the hill sacred to the deity Neḍuvēḷ (Subhramaṇya). There, under a fully flowered Vēngai (Kino tree, Terocarpas Mauseteumo) she rested in deep grief till the Gods came bringing her husband on the fourteenth day as promised by the Goddess. This hill, as it occurs in the text, would mean a hill sacred to God Subramanya; but the commentator has rendered it *by the term* Tirucchengoḍu, which unfortunately introduces a needless puzzle, as there is a place of that name with a similar shrine, the well known Tiruchangode in the Salem District. But luckily for us, this term is explained in line 13 of the XXIVth book of the Śilappadikāram *as being at the foot of the sloping hill,*[1] which indicates quite definitely that Kaṇṇaki had to follow the course of the Vaigai to the source of the river near the top of the hill and get down the slope on the other side till she came to the spot marked by the hill containing this shrine, *wherefrom a stream ran westwards* down the slope of the hill. The forest folk were witness to all that took place. Surprised and partially frightened by the unusual apparition, they felt bound to carry the information to the ruler, who, happily for them, had come out of his *capital to spend a* holiday in the hill country.

13

The Apotheosis of Kannaki and the Chera King

The complementary part of this story has it that the Chēra monarch wished to divert himself by proceeding out of the capital and spending a day among the hills and woodland regions next adjoining, and moved along passing through flowery groves, extensive river beds, bright islets, and groves of young trees constituting much of his country extending over 140 *yojanas*. Passing along some way, he rested for a while on the sands thrown upon the bank by the Periyār, leaving the hills and flowing down as the garland falling down the neck of the Great God Vishṇu himself.[2] A group of forest folk carrying on their heads all kinds of forest produce came to him there, as if they were a party of tribute bearers in the front yard of the capital Vanji itself, and hailed him "We are your subjects for long generations. May your victorious arms prosper". They then related the story of the apparition that they saw at the foot of the tree on the lower slopes of the hill. They further related "We do not know to what country she belonged or whose daughter she might be. We cannot conceive of her as of your country. May you live and prosper for many thousand years". The king was really puzzled with the account of these simple folk, and, happily for him, there happened to be present at the time the Tamil poet Ṡāttan, who had come to the capital on a visit to the monarch,[3] his friend. He related the whole story as it happened, and wound up that it was to him significant that "the injured heroine instead of returning to her own country should have elected to come into your territory". The monarch greatly moved at the distressing tale said "What a responsibility it is to be born rulers of the earth. If rains cease, the king is in great fear; and when subjects suffer, the king is in greater distress. To be born in royal families and undertake the responsibility of protecting one's subjects and conducting the administration with justice, is indeed painful responsibility" [4]. Admiring the Pāṇḍya who, rather than bear the inadvertent failure of justice, gave up his life, he looked at the queen sitting by him, and asked her which of the two women was the more admirable in her estimation, the Pāndya queen who gave up life rather than survive her husband, or this heroic woman, who had come down here all the way into our country in anger and distress to vindicate her husband's

innocence. The queen gave the reply "the good lady who gave up life the instant the husband died is certainly most worthy of admiration; but she has gone to the higher life in heaven. She is assured of happiness there. But this chaste woman who sought our territory in preference to her own, deserves to be set up and worshipped in due form"[5]. Accordingly the king ordered the needful being done.

Kannaki's Route from Madura to the Chera Country

That is so far the story of the Silappadikāram, in regard to the itinerary of the heroine Kaṇṇaki, since the great catastrophic misfortune befell her in Madura. Attention may be drawn to the particular features of this itinerary in regard to the actual location of the Chēra territory and its capital. Kaṇṇaki left Madura by the west gate and took her way and travelled half unconsciously along one of the banks of the Vaigai [6]. She proceeded up the hill which the poem names Naḍuvēḷkuṇṛam, and awaited the arrival of the divine messengers bringing Kovalan to take her away with them. These specific statements, notwithstanding the epic character of the work, would warrant our assuming that, according to Iḷangō Aḍikaḷ, the author, one of the roadways feasible for going from Madura took Kaṇṇaki following the banks of the Vaigai up the hill, where there was a hill called Neḍuvēḷkuṇṛam, and rested there underneath a fully flowered Vēngai tree. This would merely mean that she got up the hill, but this is supplemented by the information in the following book that the Vēngai tree at the foot of which she waited, was at the foot of the slope on the other side of the hill, down which flowed a river or rivers (Book XXIV, 11-13-4) [7]. This is a clear statement that she walked up the Ghats from the east and got down them on the other slope till she came upon the hillock and the tree. That that was the general course of the itinerary is under reference in an earlier part of the same book, Book XXIII, where the author describes the disputant Brahman Paṛāśara proceeding from Puhār to visit the Chēra sovereign of the time. He went across the whole distance, and, walking through forests, cultivated country and villages till he got over the high Malaya hill, left it behind to reach the Chēra capital. This would make it quite clear that to Iḷango Aḍikaḷ, the Chēra country lay across the Western Ghats. To one proceeding from Madura and its capital, it could be reached from this side by crossing the Western Ghats, and going along some

further distance. This is confirmed by another statement which follows in the work, where the Chēra queen is made to say that of the two ladies that gave up their life in distressing circumstances, the queen of Madura was quite happy and would be well looked after in heaven; but that their duty lay to Kaṇṇaki who, rather than return to her own country after the great misfortune that overtook her, came into the Chēra territory *of their own.* In this connection she uses the term "*nam-ahanāḍu* [8], which may be rendered either as the interior of our country, or, what seems the actual intention, our home country, to distinguish this region, the homeland of the Chēras, from their further acquisitions. Thus so far as the Silappadikāram is concerned, it seems to be quite clear that the Chēra country has to be looked for on the other side of the Western Ghats and along the shores of the Western sea.

Senguttuvan's Conquests outside the Limits of Chera

This conclusion from a study of the Silappadikāram does not preclude the Chēra conquest of regions on the further side, the eastern side of the Western Ghats. In fact, there are a number of references in the Silappadikāram itself which give to the Cheras, the Chēra ruler 'Senguṭṭuvan, the brother of the author, and his ancestors, credit for vast conquests, among which are included Kongu and other tracts of country in the neighbourhood; nay in fact, the region across down to the east coast. We shall have to discuss these in sufficient detail when we come to the consideration of Chēra conquests in connection with what the 'Sangam works which have much to say regarding this particular matter. All that we wish to point out here is that the 'Silappadikāram does refer to a number of these conquests outside the region of the Chēra country proper, among them the region of Kongu, which is of importance in regard to the location of the Chēra capital. All we feel concerned here to state definitely is that the 'Silappadikāram itself states clearly, in two places at least, that the Chēra had conquered and brought under control the two kings like him in the red-field (battle field) of the Kongu people, where he is categorically said to have defeated the kingdom of the tiger-flag (Chola) and the other with the fish emblem (the Pāṇḍyan). Among the people recognising his suzerainty are the people of Kongu, Kalinga, Karunaḍa (Karnāṭaka), the people of Bengal, the Gangas, the subjects of the

chief Kaṭṭi, and the Āryas of the north[9]. This is repeated almost fully in another connection. In addition to this, he is referred to, as in fact his father is in the 'Sangam works, as a ruler who wore a garland of seven crowns, which is interpreted as his having subdued the two kings and the five or seven chieftains of Tamil India, and wearing the garland of seven crowns symbolical of this conquest. Further than this, it is stated clearly that, among those monarchs who prayed that they might be permitted to build shrines to Pattinidēvi, the apotheosised Kaṇṇaki in their capitals, happened to be the Kuḍa-Kongar, which might be interpreted Kuḍaku (the Coorgs) and Kongar, or the Kongus, or merely the Western Kongus. The latter seems the more probable, as in another reference, the Kuḍakar does occur separately, and Kongu rulers are described as Iḷam-kō'sar of Kongu (*Kongu-Iḷam-Kośar*). It is perhaps this fact that made the queen refer to Kaṇṇaki as having arrived at the *ahanāḍu* of the Chēras, the home country of the Chēras, already alluded to above. The 'Silappadikāram therefore does recognise fully that the Chēra 'Senguṭṭuvan was, through his own conquests and that of his predecessors, ruler not only over the Chēra country, but of the adjoining countries extending down to the borderland both of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cholas, including in it certainly the region that could be widely described as Kongu. It must however be remembered that, wherever there is occasion for a reference, Kongu is referred to as a separate unit of territory though politically subordinate to the Chēra for the time being. So we come to this ultimately that the Chēra territory was the coast region according to the 'Silappadikāram, more or less closely as described in the classical geographers, with a capital already on the West Coast notwithstanding the fact that neighbouring regions under various chieftains came to be included in the territory of the Chēras under 'Senguṭṭuvan, among them prominently, the Kongu country.

The Capital, Vanji or Karur in the coast country and not Karur in Kongu

Passing on now to the capital of this Chēra country, the classical geographers Pliny, more explicitly than others, refers to Muziris very near the mouth of the Periyar as their capital city. Ptolemy, while confirming this reference more or less directly,

refers to a Karūr as the capital of the Chēras also. This Karūr so-called was in the interior of the Chēra country as distinguished from a sea-port town quite close to the sea like Muziris, which would mean some distance away from the coast. His language will not admit of its being located far out of the Chēra country proper, and on the eastern extremity of the territory of Kongu. This is confirmed by the map which accompanies Ptolemy's geography; and the indications given in the Peutinger Tables of the latitude and longitude would preclude with equal force, that the Karūr, the capital of the Chēras referred to, was some distance away in the interior unlike Muziris, not a long way across the Ghats. But this Karūr, the capital is not at all under reference in the Ṡilappadikaram in that name. It is only in two places that the commentator equates Vanji with Karūr. But in the text the reference to the capital is always to Vanji, and not Karūr. The commentators however need not be convicted of any ignorance or perversion because of this statement, as there are numbers of Karūr round about Vanji, which could have been included in a capital of the Chēras, and this assumption would find justification in the clear statement of Pliny.

Chera, the west country of Tamil India

The Ṡilappadikāram at the very outset, referring in the introductory passage to the author Iḷangō Aḍikaḷ, refers to him as Iḷangō Aḍi, the Yuvarāja to the king Chēra, *the king of the west*[10]. From this it becomes clear that the Chēra was, this is the orthodox belief, king of the west among the southern rulers. In another passage, the Chēra is addressed as the king of the west, whose authority extended equally over the mountain Himalayas, and the hill Kolli of the south (Canto XXIV, the last two lines)[11]. Again a third passage states "May the Western king, Kuṭṭuvan, be victorious (Canto XXVI, 11, 61, 62). Again in canto XXVII, line 64, he is referred to as the king of the west[12]. The same canto, line 197 has it "the victorious king ruling over the West"[13]. Further down in line 227, the same canto has the same "ruler of the West"[14]. Again in canto XXVIII, line 217, we have the expression "having come to the rule, he was prosperously living in the west"[15]. In canto XXX, page 592, the ruler is referred to as "ever victorious and ruling the west side"[16]. In all these passages scattered through the work, it will be seen that the Chēra is referred to as a ruler of the west undoubtedly meaning thereby the west or the western region of Tamil

India. That would mean that the ancestral territory of the Chēras was on the west coast whatever conquests they might have made on this side of the ghats in the course of history. This is brought out very clearly in a passage in canto XXIII, where a Brahman scholar of Puhār went down to see the Chēra ruler who had achieved a great reputation for liberality. This Brahman is said to have passed forest country, inhabited country, and towns in number, and, having crossed the Malaiyam rising high and lying across a long way, he is definitely stated to have left Malaiyam behind him before he reached the Chēra capital [17]. In another passage when Śenguṭṭuvan was in camp at the foot of the Nilgiris a body of holy ones appeared before him, and, after blessing him, exhorted him to look after the Brahmans whom he would find in their peaceful pursuits in the course of his northern invasion, and said that they were themselves going into the Malaya country, almost indicating as it were they were proceeding further towards the west [18]. In another passage in canto XXV, the Chēra queen in reply to her husband's query whether the Pāndya queen who gave up life immediately when the Pāndya died, or the heroine Kaṇṇaki who, having lost her husband under the tragic circumstances, lived to vindicate his innocence before joining him ultimately, worthy of higher esteem, indicates her preference that Kaṇṇaki deserved to be set up in a temple and worshipped and states it in the following terms:—"This chaste goddess (Pattini) who entered the interior of our territory, or as it seems better, our home territory, deserved worship at our hands" [19]. It seems to indicate in the clearest terms possible that the homeland of the Chēras was the coast region, whatever the extent of territory that they might have occupied at different times in the vicissitudes of history. In this particular, the information of the Śilappadikāram would only confirm the statement of the classical geographers.

The Chera capital Vanji near the West Coast

Coming to the more really vexed question of the capital of these Chēras, we stated it generally that this work Śilappadikāram refers to the capital always as Vanji without so much as mentioning Karūr even once as an alternative name. At least on two occasions the earlier commentator gives the equivalent of Vanji as Karūr. From this we may perhaps draw the conclusion that Iḷangō Aḍikaḷ knew the capital only by the name Vanji, while the commentator

had some good reason for regarding perhaps Karūr as perhaps the name more readily understood by his contemporaries; whether it be so or no, the name by which it was widely known was Vanji. The term Vanji occurs in a large number of places in the work, and is often described in a way to lead to an identification. The passage in the introduction refers to Kuṇavāyilkoṭṭam, which would mean the hall or the temple at the eastern gate of Vanji. But that does not define the position particularly. A passage however in canto XVII, page 448 refers to the destruction of "the everlasting Kaḍambu tree", reachable by going some way into the sea [20]. The king who won this victory is referred to as living in the prosperous Vanji. In line 34 of canto XXV, there is a reference to the courtyard of the prosperous Vanji [21]. Starting on an expedition Śenguṭṭuvan is stated to have put on the garland of Vanji symbolical of going on an expedition (148-49), just outside the golden walls of Vanji [22]. Further down in line 174, he speaks of Vanji well guarded, and in line 180 Vanji is referred to as never-fading, that is, of never diminishing prosperity. In the next canto, there is a similar reference to the unflowering Vanji. Lines 98-100 of the same canto speaks of the ruler as having been born in Vanji, through the blessings of God Śiva. Canto XXVIII speaks of that old city of Vanji in line 4. On page 578, the king is referred to as the ruler of the people of Vanji surrounded by the flowing waters of the Ān-Porunai [23]. The decisive passage however is in canto XXVI, lines 79-85, where Śenguṭṭuvan's marching out of the city on his northern expedition is described. Likened unto God Indra himself, he started out of Vanji at the head of his officers and army, and marched on close along the shores of the foaming sea; and, getting across bending the backs of the hills, and shaking the very ground of the hill country, the king of the world marched through at the head of his army, consisting of dancing horses, and moving cars, till he came into camp on the side of the Nilgiris [24]. The author here is anxious to give an idea of the size of the army he led, and gives definite details as to the course that the army took for its onward march. He left Vanji and marched along the shores of the western sea, turning towards hills, marching across the whole of the country, and, proceeding through the hilly country, came into camp by the side of the Nilgiris. This passage ought to fix the position of Vanji as on the sea coast in the Chēra country to the west of the Ghats, the

army having had to march across the Malaya country itself, and the hills constituting the Western Ghats to reach the camp at the first stage aside of the Nilgiris.

The river flowing near Vanji is An-Porunai, otherwise Periyar

With Vanji is associated the river which is named Ān-Porunai or Ān-Porundam alternatively. That that river is the river by eminence, of the Chēra country is in evidence in the Silappadikāram, in five places in that name. The first occurs in canto XXIII, lines 83-84,[25] and is hailed as Porunai of Poṛayan. Poṛayan is the alternative name for Chēra, and the combination with the name of the river here would indicate that Porunai is the river of peculiar national association with the Chēra country. The next reference is in canto XXVII, where the name Ān-Porunai occurs. The reference is to the arrival of the Chēra monarch, returning from his northern expedition, near Vanji where he is said to have met those who were bathing in the river[26]. The next reference is in lines 125-26 of canto XXVIII, where he is hailed with the expression that his days of life may be more numerous than the sands of the river Ān-Porunai[27]. The last passage is on page 578 of M. M. Svaminatha Aiyar's second edition of the Silappadikāram, where the ruler is hailed "May the royal family of the Chēra prosper; but here the Chēra ruler is addressed as 'Vanjiyār Kōmān', [28] king or ruler of Vanji, and the attributive statement proceeds that this Vanji is surrounded by the flowing waters of the Ān-Porunai giving us to understand clearly that the river Porunai, sometimes called Ān-Porunai, flowed round the capital Vanji of the Chēras. On the basis of this last reference we have to look for the Porunai or Ān-Porunai just where Vanji is, and therefore the location of the one is intimately associated with the site of the other. If, as was stated above, we have to look for Vanji, the capital of the Chēras, on the west coast, the city being situate quite close to the sea, the river must be looked for flowing down from the hills towards the sea on the west coast, flowing quite close to the city. In this connection, we have to consider another passage in canto XXV, lines 21-25, where the Chēra is described as leaving the capital Vanji for a day's holiday out into the country [29] to enjoy himself in the hills and forests on an excursion of pleasure. Here

we come upon the passage that he resided in the course of this excursion on the sandy banks of the river Periyār, which is said to leave the hills and flow down as if it were the great garland of Vishṇu himself flowing down from his shoulders. Here the river is referred to as Pēriyār, which in Tamil may be interpreted as merely the great river, not necessarily the river Periyār, properly so-called. But this possible interpretation does not militate against the other, as the term Periyār itself means the great river. Whether Periyār be a proper name, or be simply a great river indefinitely, the allusion here is to the river, which flows quite close to the capital Vanji without a doubt. That it had the proper name Periyār, and there was a river in the Chēra country by name Periyār seem to be indicated by the term "Ṡittār or Ṡiṟṟār", as it is written in Tamil, not very far away from this river in the Travancore country on the banks of which is the Vishṇu temple of Tricchenguṅṟūr, celebrated in the Tiruvāymoḻi hymns of Nammāḻvār, [30] among the Vishṇu shrines of Malainādu or Malaimandalam. The existence of a Ṡittār in that region would almost imply the correlative existence of a Periyār, without the existence of which in the neighbourhood, it would not be easy to call a river Ṡittār. To the local people the further resemblances must have appealed, namely, that feature, mentioned by the Ṡilappadikāram, that the river is formed actually of streams, two of them mainly flowing down the hills and forming something like a great garland flowing down the chest of the great God Vishṇu. If one would glance down the Survey of India sheet maps, this feature of the Periyār and the similar feature of what is called Ṡittār would be obvious. Hence this river Porunai associated with Vanji was, according to the Ṡilappadikāram, the same as Periyār,and flowed round the capital town of Vanji on the west coast. This is confirmed by the description in canto XXIII where on the return of Ṡenguṭṭuvan from his northern invasion and on his approach to the capital, the people engaged in their usual avocations in the near vicinity of the city, all of them paid their respects to him in the appropriate form, and, among them, get to be mentioned those who were bathing in the Ān-Porunai river, which would be clear indication that this Ān-Porunai was quite close to Vanji, [31] and one could go into Vanji only from the vicinity of the river.

The name for the river Porunai seems to be formed from a general verb root, which seems, striking against or fighting against,

it may be the banks, or, in a generalised form, the earth itself, as waters flowing down have to make for themselves a channel by digging into the earth and moving along. This is a familiar notion, as a more modern work describes the Kāveri flowing down by forcing its way by digging the banks, in one of Pillai Perumāḷ Aiyangar's works [32]. So Porunai would simply mean water struggling through the earth by making a channel for itself and that would be the general meaning of Porunai. The Porunai of the Tamil country and Tamil literature is the chief river of the Tinnevelly District, Tāmravarṇi, which is known to Tamil literary men as Porunai from the following quotation from the Tamil classic, Naishadam [33]. If Porunai is the name of rivers generally, and of the river Tāmravarṇi in particular, the term Ān-Porunai should be the name which distinguishes it from the general and well known Porunai, the river of the Tinnevelly District. The term *ān* therefore is capable of interpretation as a bull, or more generally the male of an animal. In that sense Ān-Porunai would mean the male Porunai as opposted to the general Porunai, which, as a river, would be considered feminine in point of character. Ān-Porunai therefore would be justified on the analogy of Sanskrit usage, according to which rivers flowing eastwards generally are *nadis* in the feminine, rivers flowing westwards are called *nada* in the masculine generally, the exception to this latter being the great river Narmadā. It is so stated clearly in Sanskrit lexicons. The name Ān-Porunai therefore would be in accordance with this usage, and would be merely to distinguish it from a well known Porunai, which is undoubtedly Tāmravarni. A glance at the map again would show that the source of the Ān-Porunai on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats is not very far from the obscure source of the Periyār on the Western side of the Ghats. If people did know both the rivers familiarly, as they should have, being so near, it is easy to understand the distinction of the name between the two.

It will thus be clear from what one could gather from the Ṡilappadikāram that a river flowing from the Western Ghats into the Western Sea was peculiarly the river of the Chēra country, and had the name, according to the author of the Ṡilappadikāram, Ān-Porunai, which seems to have had the popular name Periyār. This latter name is easily explainable, as among the large number of streams that flow from the Western Ghats in that particular region,

perhaps this was the biggest river. Hence the name Periyār, which would be in keeping with the practice elsewhere more or less generally. This does not necessarily debar other rivers elsewhere having the name but we are concerned here with the river, which is associated with Vanji, and is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram as such.

The East Gate of Vanji and Kunavayil-Kottam

There are a certain number of other features associated with this which have to be examined as well to see what light they actually throw upon the position of the Chēra country as such, and its capital as such. The *Pāyiram*, or the introduction to the 'Silappadikāram opens with a passage which states clearly that Iḷangō-Aḍi, the younger brother of Kuḍakko-'Sēran, meaning 'Sēral or the Chēra, who was the king of the west, was in residence in Kuṇavāyil-koṭṭam. He is further said to have been in residence there, having given up kingship. It was there that a body of "Kuravars from the hills" came together and told him what they saw under the Vēngai tree [34]. The commentator, Aḍiyārkunallār explains Kuṇavāyil-koṭṭam as the temple in Tirukkuṇavāyil, which means Tirukkuṇavāyil was a place of some consequence, where he resided in one of many buildings in it, shrines, chaityas, halls, etc. The term Kuṇavāyil-koṭṭam therefore would imply that the temple where he resided was at Kuṇavāyil, East Gate. The question would arise what the east gate is. It would mean almost naturally without further definition, the eastern gate of the city here, by implication the capital city of the Chēras. The justification for expressing the idea in these general terms, the temple or shrine at the east gate, will be found in the practice of those days which made a comparatively large area, at the east gate of the larger capital cities, a grove or garden set apart for the residence of those who may have wholly or partly retired from life and wished to spend their days in quiet contemplation, reading, or doing whatever else they may have chosen as their avocation. If every capital city had an annexe like that, one could easily understand the familiar way in which the expression is used here in this connection. The 'Silappadikāram makes it clear at the end of book XIII, *Puranjēri Irutta Kādai*, where he describes what he calls the Puranjēri, [35] which of course, the commentator makes clear by his

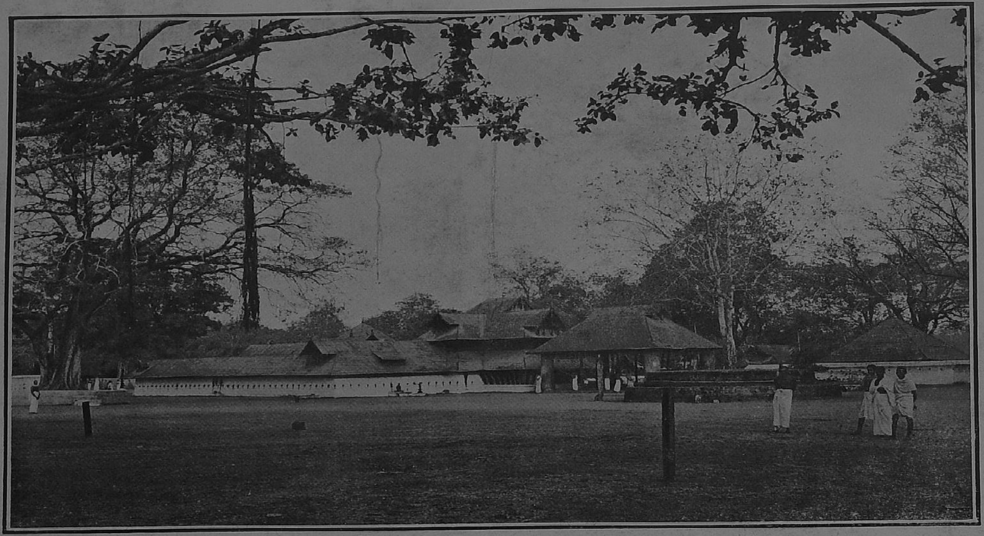
explanation. That was meant to be the garden annexe adjacent to the east gate of the city of Madura. That such an arrangement was usual may be inferred from the opening scene of the Sanskrit drama, Svapnavāsavadattā, where such a beautiful grove adjacent to the city is described, though perhaps it is not specifically mentioned there that it was adjacent to the eastern gate. A reference to this could be discovered in the Vanjikkāṇḍam of the 'Silappadikāram itself. So this Tirukkuṇavāyil would mean nothing more than the the east gate of Vanji, and the grove containing various buildings, large and small, in one of which the ascetic prince Iḷango lived just at the outskirts of his brother's capital. This term has undergone modifications both in Sanskrit and Malaiyāḷam; in its passage through Sanskrit, where the Sanskritists modified it to suit their own purpose as Guṇapuri; and in further transformation from that into the Malaiyāḷam, the consonant hardened again and has become Tirukaṇa-matil-akam. Put into Tamil this would read Tirukuṇa-madil-akam, which would mean the house adjacent to the east wall or rampart. In Malaiyāḷam it has been made into Triukaṇa-matil-akam. There is a place of this Malaiyāḷam name, not far from Tiruvanjikkuḷam to-day. A distance of about three to four miles, and the location in point of direction would suit this description of the locality as forming part of the outskirts of the fortress capital. The fact that it is under reference in Sanskrit works written some centuries later would only go to show that it was a well known feature of the city, recognisable perhaps centuries after the time of 'Senguṭṭuvan, and in the days of Aḍiyārkkunallār ordinarily. We may therefore take it that this Kuṇavāyilkoṭṭam was just outside of the capital of Vanji and adjacent to the eastern gate of the city, very probably in the locality now marked by what is called Triukaṇā-matil-akam, although the place is now comparatively little occupied, the inhabitants, as we are informed, being a handful of Muhammadans. It is to Iḷango Aḍikaḷ, in this particular place, not far out of Vanji that the hill Kuravars in a group came and recounted the story of what they saw under the Vēngai tree. This is referred to in circumstantial detail in lines 180 to 200 of canto XXIII of the Śilappadikāram.[36] This passage not merely states the event of Kaṇṇaki's passing out of existence, but describes in circumstantial detail her journey from Madura, and gives the definite indication of the place where she attained to the apotheosis.

That is recapitulated in the introductory passage of the next book of the Ṡilappadikāran,[37] book XXIV, which is the first book dealing with Vanji, as the two previous divisions deal with Puhār and Madura. Wherefrom did these Kuravars come to meet Iḷango Aḍikaḷ at Kuṇavāyil-koṭṭam ?

Neduvel kunram and Vanji

The actual *kuṅṛam* or hill is described in book XXIII, line 190 as *Neḍuvēḷ kuṅṛu.* Kaṇṇaki is there said to have stepped up the hill and then got down to the grove of *vēngai* trees. This is much more clearly stated in line 13 of book XXIV, as being at the foot of the terrace and called Neḍuvēlkuṅṛam. We have therefore to look for this slope of the hill and the grove of *vēngai* trees from the particular spot. Kaṇṇaki herself is made to say that she left Madura by the west gate and walked both night and day, helpless, all along one of the banks of the river Vaikai, and then reached the hill which goes by the name of Neḍuvēḷ or Subrahmaṇya. Then getting down the other side, she came down to the foot of the slope where this grove of *vēngai* trees was; and there she awaited her husband, as she was promised by the goddess of Madura. Of the two commentators of the Ṡilappadikāram, the first commentator makes Neḍuvēḷ-kuṅṛam Tiruchengōḍu, as he notes it. This unfortunately has proved to be misleading, as there is another hillock which goes by the name Tiruchangode and is sacred to Skanda or Subrahmaṇya likewise. But Ṡengōḍu and Ṡenguṅṛam would be ordinarily synonymous. We cannot therefore be sure whether this earlier commentator did not merely mean Ṡenkuṅṛu where he spoke of Ṡengōḍu, so that when he spoke of Tiruchengōḍu, he had in mind Tiruchenkuṅṛu, in the locality. We cannot be quite so positive about it for the reason that the later commentator Aḍiyārkunallār, apparently criticising this commentator states that the term *kuṅṛam* in Kuṅṛak-kuravar stands for Tiruchenguṅṛu, and not Tiruchengōḍu, as the latter is 60 *kādam* to the north-east of Vanji, an impossible distance for the king's excursion from the capital in the morning to return to it in the evening. We doubt that the earlier commentator could have meant the modern Tiruchangode in the Salem District on the simple ground that the commentator must have had the passage before him, and he could not well interpret that passage as leading Kaṇṅaki from Madura to Tiruchengōḍu, in the Salem District across the Kaveri on the actual specification of the

journey in the ten lines preceding the mention of the name, Neḍu-vēl-kuṅṛu. I understand there is a shrine to Subrahmaṇya, probably a very small hill shrine, across the Western Ghats and down on the other slope from very near the source of the Vaikai river even now. The name according to the text is only Neḍuvēḷ-kuṅṛam, the *kuṅṛam* or hill of Neḍuvēḷ, Muruka, Subrahmaṇya or Skanda. The name Śenguṅṛu does not occur there. The Tiruchengode of the earlier commentator would simply mean the red hillock, which is exactly the meaning of Aḍiyārkunallār's Tiruchenguṅṛu, which he explains as Śenguṅṛu not far from Koḍungalūr; and this Tiruchengōḍu would be far out towards the Ghats referring in all probability to Tiruchengōḍu here, as the interpretation given by his predecessor. Śenguṅṛu and Tiruchenguṅṛu would certainly and quite easily be the name of a number of hillocks, as the whole of the country is red laterite, and the hills are actually so constituted, so that it need not be a single hill, although one such may have been more prominent than the others. In that locality and a little to the south of the region we are now discussing, we have indubitable reference to a Tiruchenguṅṛu in the name Tiruchenguṅṛūr (Mal. Śenguaṇṇūr) containing a Vishṇu temple which is celebrated by Nammāḷvār.[38] This Tiruchenguṅṛūr is said to be on the river Śittār, the correlative-opposite of Periyār. It may be Tiruchenkuṅṛu wherefrom the hill Kuravar came to Guṇavāyil-koṭṭam, or it may be another hill of the name, possibly even nearer to Vanji. Tiruchengode in the Salem District is obviously impossible not merely on account of the distance, but because it would not suit the actual description of Kaṇṇakiś itinerary. The fact of the existence of a place like Tiruchenkuṅṛūr in the locality would involve a Tiruchenkuṅṛu in the comparatively near neighbourhood, and having regard to the location of the former, this hillock must have been on the western slopes of the Western Ghats near about the headwaters of the river Vaikai. This does not, however, debar the existence of other hillocks of the name in the locality. Aḍiyārkunallār's location therefore of Tiruchenkuṅṛu as being somewhere near Koḍungalūr does not seem an impossibility (there is a place of that name, on an old map, not far from Kuṇavāyilkoṭṭam), although perhaps from the indications of the Śilappadikāram, it may not be exactly the Tiruchēnguṅṛu which gives the name to Tiruchenkuṅṛūr. This Tiruchenguṅṛu which elsewhere the Śilappadikāram calls Neḍuvēḷkunram would be nearer to the Western Ghats, and the people who brought him



Sree Kurumba Temple, Cranganur *(Kodungalur)*

tributes of hill produce and came down to report to him the phenomenal occurrence, are correctly described as people living on the top of hills[39]. The articles that are described in detail constitute the produce of the hills, and some of them in the group are peculiar to that region. For examples of the peculiar produce of that region, sandal, pieces of sandalwood, creepers of cardamoms and pepper and "plaintains of large bunches" which almost seems to imply that plaintain peculiar to Malabar called *nēndram*. These folk must have travelled all the distance from there from the western slopes of the Western Ghats to the comparatively near vicinity of Koḍungalur, not far from the eastern gate of the capital city of Vanji. It is there that they reported the matter to the assembled monarch and his surroundings, the author of the work, Iḷango-Aḍikaḷ being among them. This leaves us in little doubt where exactly we have to look for the locality of Vanji if we simply follow the itinerary as described in the Śilappadikāram itself without further ado. It would be unnecessary to go far away from the bank of the Vaikai to the Palni hills, or to the Aivar Malai, and to other places to discover the shrine of Subrahmaṇya on the hill.

Tiru-chengunru not Tirucchengode or Palni or any other Place

The itinerary of Kannaki from Madura, as described in circumstantial detail in the Śilappadikāram, takes us therefore along the banks of the Vaikai right up to the Western Ghats almost to its source, wherefrom she passes on up the summit of the Ghats to the other side. She then gets down a part of the way, comes upon a grove of *vēngai* trees on the down slope of the hills, where perhaps there was then, as we are informed there is now, a shrine to Subrahmaṇya, the hill-god according to the accepted Tamil tradition, giving to the dominant hillock of the locality the name Śenkuṅṛu, which, of course, would be called more formally Tiruchenkuṅṛu. This is confirmed by the fact of the existence of a Tiruchenkuṅṛur in the valley, which is a clear indication that there was a hill of the name. This is independently of other hillocks also being known more or less by the general designation Śenguṅṛu or red-hill from the red laterite of the locality. Śenguṅṛu need not therefore be looked for at far off Tirucchengoḍe in the Salem District, or in nearer hills on either side of the river Vaikai sacred to Subrahmaṇya, such as Palni or Aivarmalai, etc., but rather remote

from the banks of the Vaikai, one of which is said clearly to have provided the pathway for Kaṇṇaki to journey westwards. Aḍiyārkunallār's location of Śenguṅṛu in the neighbourhood of Koḍungōḷūr does not seem therefore unlikely or inappropriate by any means.

The Vishnu Temple of Hatakamadam

Other features of Vanji, the Chēra capital, are also given in the Śilappadikāram, which would support this location. One of these is a reference connected with Śenguṭṭuvan's starting on his northern invasion. We have described already that the invasion left early morning, as invasions actually do, and as order for march was ready to sound the Chēra king had already bathed and ready dressed to join the army of invasion, and, before doing so, he went into the shrine of his tutelary God Śiva, whose manifestation he is actually described to be by the poet. He received the gift, *prasāda*, from the priest in attendance in the shape of the sacred ash and flowers, *bilva* (marmelosa leaves) usual in Śiva temples. The poem says that he received these, and, as in the case of Śiva-worshippers usually, he placed a little of the sacred ash on his head, possibly also some of the flowers before mounting his elephant to join in the march. Just then it is stated in the poem that the priest from the golden-temple of the "God who is in conscious sleep" brought similar holy gifts to be presented to the king going out on a distant invasion. The king is said to have received the gifts with the respect due to them and hesitated to place them on his head, as he had already put on the head the holy gift from the Śiva shrine, and it would not be proper to place one of these on the top of the other. He is therefore said to have received the gift with becoming respect and placed the garland, which formed the chief article of this presentation, on his shoulders. This statement is in fact a poetical embellishment, as the *prasāda* from a Vishṇu temple usually takes the character of a garland taken from out of the image of the God Himself, and either put on the shoulder by the priest himself, which sometimes devotees receive in the hand as a mark of respect and then put it on themselves; and what is further given, if one happens to be in the shrine, is the tender shoots of the basil plant and holy water. But since the king was not in the shrine; the holy water would be dispensed with, and what would be brought prominently would be the garland and the basil alone. Hence his putting on the garland on the shoulder and the basil, he might have, as others usually do, struck

into the ear. But this basil is not mentioned here. What is mentioned is merely the garland, which not only the king Śenguṭṭuvan, but every devotee, would receive and put on his shoulders. The mere fact of his doing this is described in poetical language in the work. But what is of importance to our investigation is not the religious side of it; but the Vishṇu God described in this connection. The description actually contains two items, one, that the God in the shrine is described as one who is in conscious sleep; and the other that he was housed in a golden hall or a golden temple. The commentator, only the earlier commentator's commentary is available, suggests that the "Hāṭaka Māḍam" was Tiruvanandapuram (Trivandrum), suggesting an alternative Ravipuram. Trivandrum is of course, the well known capital of Travancore, where the principal God in the shrine is in the lying posture, lying on the serpant couch of Ananta Sayana. Hence the name Anantaśayanam. The big temple could be described as a golden shrine generally, as carrying gilded minarets, or even a gilded roof. But when it is really and literally too far away for a priest to bring the God's gifts for presentation to the monarch, as intimation of march was given only the previous day, and he was preparing to start early morning the next day. The alternative suggested would be nearer, as the southern part of modern Ernakulam is called Ravipuram, just opposite to which is the Maharaja's Palace, now-a-days in Trippūṇittura, where there is also a shrine sacred to Vishṇu, the principal deity installed in it now being Santānagōpāla, seated under the hood of a five-headed cobra. This posture of the main image would hardly agree with the description, *ari-tuyil-amarndōn* for the God (literally knowing—sleep enjoying). If the expression is to be interpreted as it ordinarily should be, the shrine indicated would be a shrine where Vishṇu is installed in the lying posture, usually exhibited as lying asleep on Śesha or Ananta snake in the ocean of milk, which is the representation in the main shrine in Trivandrum. But where in fact, as in the work, the description given is merely the golden-hall, we may not be fully justified in hunting out a temple at great distances as the place intended. It is not unusual that in capitals, the palace is located right in the middle or slightly to one side; it may be next door to a Vishṇu shrine, as a Vishṇu shrine, if such a one existed, should be located in the centre of the town under the general directions of Hindu architecture. If a Vishṇu shrine existed within the palace precincts, if that happened to have contained a Vishṇu image in the

lying posture, it would satisfy the requirements of the reference in the text. Śenguṭṭuvan, the ruler, is described as an aṁśa (manifestation) of Śiva as the result of Śiva's grace, and, if he exhibited special attachment personally to God Śiva, with a brother who was a Buddhist, that need not be particularly strange, as we have the well known historical instance of Harsha's father having been a Sun-worshipper, his elder brother a fairly staunch Buddhist, and Harsha himself having been in early life a Śaiva, later on showing Buddhist leanings. The existence of a Vishṇu shrine within the precincts of the palace, or just close to it in the capital city, which may have been due to a predecessor of his, or a mere feature of the town itself, would be no objection to a Śaiva sovereign as Hindu sovereigns go. The description that is given of this shrine in canto XXX, lines 51—53 would perhaps support the existence of a Vishṇu shrine in the capital itself rather than at any great distance. But while it is possible there was a Vishṇu shrine in the capital, the description of it as *Hataka Madam*, the golden hall, requires explanation. A golden hall is described in canto XXVIII, lines 47—52 and 67—78 as the part of the palace through which the queen had to pass to receive the king and is described in Tamil as *tamanika māḷikai*, a golden mansion:—[40]

"Like unto Mēru rising amidst the fruitful earth
With the ocean of falling billows all around,
Midst the age old city of high ramparts flying flags,
Rose aloft the golden mansion-On to its Jewelled Terrace
Came the royal consort, the auspicious queen,
To enjoy the glory of the rising moon"...........
....
Along with her came upon the bejewelled terrace
The sole king of the earth, girt with the swelling sea,
To see *koṭṭicchēdam*, the dance divine.
The anklets of the Himalayan God on his auspicious
feet gingled;
The beaten drum sounded furiously in his protecting hand,
His thousand red-eyes indicated the meaning,
His red locks dishevelled swept the quarters round;
All the time Umā kept on his side
Her anklets unshaken, her head-jewel unmoved,
Without gingle of waist zone or movement of bosom,
With ear-pendant unmoved and jewelled hair unloosed.

When that dancing Chākkaiyan of Paṟaiyūr
Of Vedic lore had rendered this dance divine
The king of the sea-girt earth in happiness moved
Entered the royal Hall of audience".

A similar part of the palace is also described in canto XXVII, lines 200 to 201 as a golden hall,[41] which would perhaps indicate that the shrine was one belonging to the capital city, where the God was installed as lying on the serpant couch, much like the image in the great temple at Trivandrum. The Hāṭaka Māḍam therefore would be a part of the town of Vanji, if not of a portion of the palace itself. But the commentator's suggestion is easily understandable in respect of Trivandrum. It is not quite so plain in regard to Ravipuram if we take Ravipuram as it is now, a part of Ernakulam, the part where the residence of the present-day Maharaja happens to be, Tirupūṇittura. The image installed there and in worship at present seems to be a comparatively new installation after some kind of a mishap to the original shrine. A part of the shrine is now shut up, and from a chink in the back-door, the serpant couch at any rate seems visible, which would mean a Vishṇu image recumbent on the big serpant. But as a part of the shrine is shut up, and the image at present in worship seems rather unusually placed in the sanctum, it may be that that shrine was an Anantaśayana shrine. Older people of the locality do mention the existence of an Anantaśayana image in the temple, although we have noticed an objection raised to it by some who say that it is not Anantaśayana, but merely what the Malaiyāḷis call a *sarppa-ḵāvu,* which literally would mean a serpant-jungle, reminiscent of Nāga worship. This matter cannot be settled unless the closed part of the shrine is opened and examined. But in the meanwhile for the reasons given above, it seems hardly necessary to go out of Vanji for the golden-hall of Vishṇu referred to in the poem.

In confirmation of the suggestions made above that the Hāṭaka Māḍam referred to may be a part of the royal palace, and that the temple of Vishṇu referred to may be regarded as a temple in the palace precincts we may refer to the stanza quoted below [42] in illustration in the Iṛayaṅar Ahapporuḷ to which attention had been drawn

* 42.

by M.M. Svāminatha Aiyar in his edition of the Śilappadikāram. The verse there refers to Hāṭaka Māḍam as applied usually to the residential quarters of the ladies of the palace, and therefore an integral part of the royal residence, perhaps even really the main part. Speaking of a young lady who had decided to accompany her lover and take herself away from her parents, she is referred to as one "who had never stepped beyond the bounds of the Hāṭaka Māḍam", which would mean pre-eminently the interior part of the palace, in which ladies could move with freedom and without fear of outside people seeing them. The distinguishing epithet *Ponmāḷigaittunjiya,* given to Sundara Chola, Parāntaka II, would further confirm that *Ponmāḷigai* or Hāṭaka-Māḍam was the residential interior part of the palace of the Cholas. That a Vishṇu temple is possible in such a position is made clear in the so-called *hazarada Ramasvāmi* Temple in Vijayanagar (Hampi), which would mean a Rama temple in the *hazāra* or vestibule-entrance to the inner part of the palace. A study of the location of the old palace in proximity to the great Vishṇu temple at Trivandrum, and the very position of the apartments of royalty there, would support the view, which would find further support in the description of this part of the Chēra palace in the following passage of the Śilappadikarām:—*43

XXVII. Lines 195-216, p. 33.

"The rising young sun in effulgent glory
The top of the eastern hill adorned.
The victorious King, ruler of the West,
His army with flowers of northern victory dight,
Marching southwards has at last reached
His capital vast where riches slept.
Tall mansions rose; amidst them, obstructing the sun's way
Arose the golden palace with pearly creepers all around.
The chamber within decked full in works of art;
The roof of gold set with rubies and diamonds bright;
The golden couch on legs of solid gold
Carried beds of soft eider down.
As if to put the lonely queen to sleep
Attendant ladies recounted the deeds of war
And the victories the king had won,
Set in song wishing the lovelorn queen

Her sorrows' end and happy years ahead.
Bent hunchbacks and puny dwarfs arrived
Saying "May you be happy" the great one has come;
Let your lovely hair receive its daily dressing".

It therefore seems likely that the golden-hall referred to is a part of the palace itself with a Vishṇu temple there. Such a position would find confirmation in lines 51-53 of canto XXX of the Śilappadikāram,[44] where the same priest of the Vishṇu temple is under reference in the statement that his young daughter was there present at the time that the temple to Kaṇṇaki was consecrated. The recognised canons of Hindu architecture lay it down that Vishṇu temples in cities should be located in the middle of the inhabited part of the town and in the immediate vicinity of the palace itself if it should be a royal city, the place indicated for a Śiva temple being somewhat more remote, and to one side of the city, the south-eastern side. It would not seem strange therefore that the Chēra capital was built to the plan of other royal cities, and had these features in common with them. From this and the other details following, the city of Vanji must have been a very extensive city, of which the features that we have considered formed but parts.

A Garden suburb of Vanji-Vel Avik-ko Malikai

We next come on to another similar feature. After Senguṭṭuvan's return from his northern invasion, he sent out the princely prisoners of the north to be shown round to the other two rulers of the south, and, when the messengers brought them back and reported the more or less uncomplimentary remarks made by the princes, 'Senguṭṭuvan naturally was roused to warlike activity to avenge the insult as he took it to be. Then the Brahman Māḍalan, who happened to be yet at court, got up and, in an eloquent exhortation, pointed out to the king the futility of another war at the end of so many wars he has had to wage during the twice twenty-five years of his reign. He drew attention to 'Senguṭṭuvan not having made any attempt to do any great act of benefit for his future in his exclusive devotion to achieve distinction in this present life. Māḍalan advised the monarch, as it became a great and conquering king, to celebrate the royal sacrifice of Rājasūya of benefit for the future, as life is fleeting and good deeds cannot brook delay. 'Senguṭṭuvan immediately ordered the celebration of the great sacrifice in due form,

and he is said to have pointed out to those with his principal minister who had been commissioned to conduct the great sacrifice, one of the Palaces outside the walls of the city of Vanji and comfortably placed in the midst of gardens providing facilities for shelter, etc., required for the purpose. This is called Vēḷāvikkō-māḷikai, the mansion of Vēḷ Āvikkō, the mansion of Āvikkō, the nobleman. This building must be looked for just outside the city limits of Vanji like another Kuṇavāyilkōṭṭam or something like it. A place is pointed out even now on the shore of the backwaters to-day bearing a name, rather reminiscent of this Vēḷ-āvikkō māḷikai or Āvikkō-mandiram. He had to go some distance across from there to where they had erected the temple to Kaṇṇaki, and had to instal the image of *Pattinidēvi*, which would mean that this Vēḷ-Āvikkō Māḷikai was perhaps in a direction opposite to where Koḍungalūr is just now.

The Sakkai Dancing troupe of Paraiyur, modern Parur

Another incident described in the Śilappadikāram, canto XXVIII, after Śenguṭṭuvan's return from the distant invasion to the north, refers to Śenguṭṭuvan's durbar on the evening of his entry into the capital. The king was seated with the queen on the open terrace of the palace when a dramatic troupe appeared before him, and exhibited the peculiar dance of Śiva and Pārvatī called *koṭṭicchēdam*. This is a kind of dance which Śiva is said to have performed after overcoming his enemies of Tripura, in which His consort is made to stand aside performing a delicate dance of very gentle movement, while the God Śiva Himself performed a vigorous dance; His anklets gingled vigorously, while He played a small drum in His hands with great energy. His many eyes were made to travel round in various aspects, His matted locks swept round wildly. This is a kind of dance which is much affected even now in the Malabar country.[45] This dance of Śiva was rendered by the expert dramatic troupe of the Chākkiyar of whom a community seems to have been residents of Paṛaiyūr, whose speciality this kind of performance is believed to be. As a matter of fact, we have reference in literature indicating that the Śākkaikkūttu, the dance of the Śākkaiyar, as a peculiar form of it, was much appreciated. We have an inscription on record coming from far off Kāmaraśavalli, near

Tiruvidaimarudūr [46] datable in the reign of Rājēndra Chola I where a Śākkai dancer was conferred the royal title of Śākkai Mārāyan. The Chākkaiyar of Paṛaiyūr seem to be referred to as Brahmans, and their performance was very much appreciated by the king as well as others. They are said to have come and rendered this dance before the king, and took themselves away when Śenguṭṭuvan adjourned to the court hall to receive others in audience with the Brahman Māḍalan. This Paṛaiyūr is stated to be the modern Parūr, about four miles or so from where Cranganur is, and a special Brahman community of these dramatists are said to be flourishing there even now.

The Chera Kingdom and Kongu

The next item of importance that we have to consider is the reference to Kongu in the work, and the political relation between Kongu and the Chēra kingdom, as far as we can trace it in this particular work and its companion Maṇimēkhalai only. There are a number of references to Kongu, and Kongu is spoken of generally as a geographical entity outside the Chēra kingdom, though under Chēra rule even. The first reference to any feature of the Kongu kingdom is in the closing lines of canto XXIV, [47] where the Chēra is described as alike the ruler of the Himalayas bearing the emblem of the bow, and of the hill Kolli, the modern Kollimalais in the distant south. The next reference is in canto XXV, where the people of Kongu are under reference, where the minister Villavankōdai addresses the king to dissuade him from the northern invasion, which he wanted to undertake for the purpose of bringing a suitable stone from the Himalayas for making the image of Kaṇṇaki from. The Minister exhorts [48] him not to undertake an expedition for it, but merely to send word to the kings there to supply the king the stone wanted. Referring to his former achievements, the first achievement detailed by the minister is the defeat that Śenguṭṭuvan inflicted upon the enemy kings of the tiger and the fish flags, whom he defeated in the "red-field of the

[46] The inscription referred to is No. 65 of 1914 coming from the temple at Kāmaraśvalli in the Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam Taluk, Trichinopoly District. It refers to a provision made for a Chākkai dancer entitled Chākkai Mārāyan Vikrama Śoḻan for his performances in connection with the festival of *Ārdhra* in *Margaḻi* and the festival in the month of *Vaikāśi*. There is a further reference in section 13 of the Epigraphist's report for 1924—25 where this inscription is referred to, and some little other information is also given in association with the name of Rājarāja, the father of Rājēndra Chola.

Kongu people" (Kongar-Ṡengaḷam) which would mean that, on the red-field of battle wherever that was in the country of Kongu, he had to meet the two other kings of the Tamil land, the Chola with the tiger emblem and the Paṇḍya with the fish emblem, and inflict defeat upon them, information of which had reached the ends of the quarters. So Kongu was a country distinct from the Chēra country, invaded by his enemies. In another reference in canto XXX, it is stated that a number of rulers contemporary with him sought his permission to consecrate the chaste-lady in their own territory as Ṡenguṭṭuvan had done in his own.[49] Among them happen to be mentioned the first Kuḍaka-Kongar which compound may be taken to mean either as the peoples of Kuḍaku (Coorg) and Kongu, or alternatively, the expression may be interpreted as the western-Kongar, the people of the country western Kongu. Kongu in historical times had three divisions, west Kongu, south Kongu and north Kongu. If such a division had existed even earlier, as it might well have, it would mean that part of the country next adjacent to the Western Ghats, and extending some way into the interior along the foot-hills. Either way there was a ruler of Kongu who wanted to build a temple to *Pattinidēvi* in his kingdom. For our present purpose this is enough to state that Kongu was at any rate a separate political entity under a separate ruler, while it may have accepted the superior authority of the Chēra, as a suzreign power. Such a position for Kongu would negative any statement which would make the Kongu country an integral part of the Chēra to be spoken of as the native territory of the Chēra rulers.

Chera Hegemony under Senguttuvan

The next point for consideration from the Ṡilappadikāram is the detailed statement contained in the work upon the Chēra sovereign's position in the Tamil country at the time, and the details of the conquests that he is said to have made in the course of establishing an overlordship of the south. The eloquent exhortation of the Brahman Māḍalan[50] set down below in translation, expounds the various conquests of his.—

Up rose Māḍalan of undiminished lore, and spake,
O King of Kings'. May your valour prosper for ever
After thou hadst destroyed Viyalūr of small voice

Her elephants asleep on hills with pepper creeper covered,
Thou hadst in long-drawn battles overcome
The nine kings wearing garlands of *ār* at Nērivāyil,
Destroying their vast army and tall cars near Iḍumbil.
Other enemies thou hadst driven into the sea after cruel war.
The Āryan kings, attacking you in anger,
Thou hadst defeated on the fast flowing Ganga Ghat.
O Great King of vast armies, wearing garlands long,
The bull among kings, well informed by learned company
May thine anger abate'
May thy days of life be more than the sands
Of the cool Ān-Porunai'
May you listen, without neglect, to my counsel.
Thine years of earth's guardianship
Count up twice five times five.
Even so thou hast done no deeds of eternal good.
Thou hast ever been bent on deeds of valour.
Your immediate forbears wearing garlands of palm leaves,
Their royal duties fully done have gone, bearing valiant swords;
Be it he who destroyed the Kaḍambu of the seas,
Or he who set the bow on the Himalayan peak;
Or he who sent the Brahman of Vedas four
To Heaven itself, accepting his laud in praise;
Or be it he who Death himself did compel
Taking toll of life in proper course.
Or be it he ruling the land of Yavanas harsh
Crossed the mountain high, yielding gold;
Or be it even he who, leading to victory his army vast,
With rare valour destroyed Ahappā.
Or be it he who, having bathed in Aiyirai in due form,
Had his ablution in both the seas at once
Or he who, brought into Vanji the God of the Square,
To celebrate the sacrifice of sweetened drink.
Thou understandest life is impermanent,
Having none presuming to teach you this.
O King-Protector! thou hast seen in the Āriyan kings,
Who the Tamils held in small esteem.
Wealth in this world is not everlasting.
Youth is fleeting needs no saying to those
Who in wisdom stand possessed.
O Righteous sovereign of prosperous frame!
Thou hast seen thy hair grow grey with age.
The good life in heavenly beings may come
To die in human form.

Life that is in human body
May find, O Lofty One, new tenement in beastly form.
Giving up the beastly body life perchance
May find a body in the suffering world below.
Human life, like actors on the stage,
Is never of one form for long.
Life takes the course, one's deeds mark out
Has long since been, by people of true vision, said.
O King of the valiant sword! Wearing garland of seven crowns,
May your rule prosper from age to age.
I am not of those eager for liberal largesses.
The good soul that found thy noble body
Should not, I am anxious, go the way
Of souls of men in this world.
Thou who transcendest the bounds of knowledge!
Thou shouldst celebrate the royal sacrifice
Prescribed in Vedas rare for kings of yore,
Through sacrificing-Brahmans versed in Vedas four
Who can assure you Heaven revered of gods.
Shouldst thou defer the good deed till the morrow
Even to-day thy good life of our hearing may leave you.
No one there is on this sea-girt earth
Who doth know the measured length of his life,
With this your rightful partner for sacrifice
Mayest thou live, protecting the earth,
Crowned monarchs doing thee homage,
For aeons upon aeons of time.

The battle of Viyalūr, which unfortunately we cannot well locate, his defeat of the nine rebel Chola princes at Nārivāyil, the defeat of other chieftains in the Tamil country and then of his proceeding to attack some enemies on the sea. Then follows the defeat of the Āryan princes, who invaded the south, on the banks of the Ganges. These occur in the first part of the address. And then follows a series of references to conquests, not all of them by himself. This includes victories won by his predecessors, and these victories include, the defeat of the Kaḍambas of the sea, the setting of the bow emblem on the Himālayas, the sending of the Brahman to heaven in return for the panegyric which he presented to the king. The next

one is the setting of Death himself under proper discipline. Then follows the establishment of his rule over the land of the Yavanas and of his getting across the gold yielding mountain. Next follows the conquest of Ahappā regarded as a place in the north of the Chēra country; then of his bathing in the river Ayirai which also finds reference as a hill. Then comes the achievement of bathing, at one and the same time, in both the seas, the eastern and the western. Then comes the achievement of his bringing and establishing the *bhūta* of the public square (*Ṡadukkappūtam*), and establishing a festival for him. Of these achievements, the conquest of the Kaḍambu of the seas seems ascribable to Ṡenguttuvan himself, his father before him and perhaps that father's predecessor. The setting up of the bow-emblem seems to be specifically an achievement of the father. The next one of giving heaven to the Brahman is ascribed to his uncle. The putting of the God of Death under discipline is not quite clear from any other reference. The rule of the country of the Yavanas and of entering into the country of the gold-yielding mountain seem to be in reference to some conquest of the foreigners, which is ascribed to his father. The destruction of Ahappā refers to the conquest of the North Malabar country by his uncle. The bathing in the waters of the river Ayirai and in the waters of the two seas simultaneously are also ascribable to that uncle. The bringing of the Kshētrapāla (*Ṡadukkap-pūdam*) into Vanji, with the building of a temple and institution of a festival to him is his own. This recital in brief in the 'Silappadikāram itself will find elaborate confirmation in other 'Sangam works. We shall consider these later; but for the moment this recital here would indicate that the Chēra kingdom under 'Senguṭṭuvan had achieved a definite hegemony over the Tamil kingdoms and chieftaincies of the south, which is brought out in relief by Māḍalan the Brahman, addressing this ruler as one who wore "a garland of the seven crowns". This garland of the seven crowns is explained elsewhere to be a garland made of seven crowns, that is, the crowns of the two other kings and five important chieftains of Tamil India, and that is an achievement ascribed both to his father, and, either because of that, or, as a result of an independent achievement, even to 'Senguṭṭuvan himself. Thus 'Senguṭṭuvan is exhibited in the 'Silappadikāram as the sovereign ruler of the Chēra kingdom who had conquered the neighbouring lands and established a suzerainty in

the south. He is given credit further for distinct achievements both on the sea and in northern India on the banks of the Ganges carrying his authority and influence up to the Himalayas.

Vanji and the Chera country in Manimekhalai

While the 'Silappadikāram has really so much to say about 'Senguṭṭuvan and his achievements, such references as we find in the Maṇimekhalai to him are, as compared with those in the 'Silappadikāram, meagre. But even so, there are just a few points worth noting. The first reference is in canto XIX, lines 119 to 128 where an invasion is said to have started from Vanji[51]. It was composed of an army carrying the bow flag as well as a flag carrying the fish emblem, which would mean a Chēra army which contained in it a Pāṇḍyan contingent. They marched across and won a victory against an enemy at Kāriyāṛu. The impelling cause of this invasion is said to be *earth-hunger*, which would mean nothing more than that it was an expedition sent out for conquest of new land, or country which had not as yet been subjugated by him. Canto XXI contains a mere reference to Vanji to which, in a prophesy, Maṇimēkhalai is informed she would be proceeding. Maṇimēkhalai herself informs her mother and grand-mother that she was proceeding to Vanji, to arrange for the celebration of festivals to Kaṇṇaki. This statement is made to her people in Puhār[52]. There is a reference in lines 206 of canto XXV where, after Puhār had been destroyed by the sea, Maṇimēkhalai's mother and others betook themselves to distant Vanji for safety; and Vanji is again under reference in the last lines of the canto where Manimēkhalai herself sets forward towards Vanji, having directed Āputra, King of 'Sāvakam to return to his own country from Ceylon[53]. In lines 72—78 of canto XXVI Maṇimēkhalai in disguise proceeds to Vanji to see votaries and teachers of other religions and learn from them their teachings, before gaining the esoteric teaching of Buddhism from Aṛavaṇa Adikaḷ. The passage here describes in detail the grove outside the walls of the city[54] in terms reminiscent of the description of *Puranjēri* we find in the 'Silappadikāram, where these devotees of various religions were exhibited as being in residence. Maṇimēkhalai visited them there, assuming the form of an ascetic herself. She is brought into Vanji in the opening passage, wherefrom she was to start off again to Kānchī. At Vanji she meets her grand-father who had distributed all his property and had assumed the life of an

ascetic, living there after the mishap that befell Kāveripaṭṭinam[55]. Having heard of the coming mishap, he came away to Vanji and was in residence there. In a later passage, Maṇimēkhalai is said to have left Vanji and to have risen up into the air to the west of the city, and set forward in the northern direction in her onward journey to Kānchī[56]. These are about all the references that we get to the town of Vanji, and we may almost say in general terms to the Chēra and his country, except for a few references of a personal character to 'Seguṭṭuvan. While therefore what we find in the Maṇimēkhlai goes to confirm what is said in the 'Silappadikāram, it does not however add very substantially to what we have been able to glean from the 'Silappadikāram.

Agreement between these and the Classical Geographers

Taking the two works therefore together, we are not left in any doubt in regard to the Chēra country being in the region along the West Coast, the country along the western seashore in fact, and situate between the sea and the Western Ghats essentially. Chēra acquisitions extended over the whole of Tamil India, even up to the Himalayas, as these works describe it. Its capital Vanji was situated within this Chēra region, not very far from the sea, although not being by itself a sea-port. The knowledge that we have been able to gain of the Chēra country and its capital from these two Tamil classics seems only to confirm the comparatively meagre details from the classical geographers. But the agreement between the two, the classical geographers on the one hand and these two Tamil classics on the other, seems so close, goes so much in detail to the extent even of the piratical character of the coast next adjoining the Chēra country to the north, that we may infer therefrom that both of them describe the Chēra country of about the same period, thereby shedding important indirect light upon the date of these Tamil classics.

The name of the Capital Vanji or Karur

Coming to the name of the capital, the most familiar and well known name for the capital in literature and general usage is Vanji. It had, however, an alternative name, by no means perhaps quite as familiar, but nevertheless fairly well known, Karūr. The unfortunate, but honestly meant identification of this Karūr of the classical

geographers with Karūr in the Kongu country by Caldwell has had its reflex action in recent times which Caldwell could never have anticipated at the time that he made the suggestion. Without going into that question just at present, we have to note here that the classical geographers knew of a Karūr in the interior of the Chēra coast, and that is all that they actually meant by the name Karūr. We shall take up the question what this Karūr means as well as the name Vanji in speaking of the capital of the Chēras. The term Vanji in modern times had been taken too readily to stand for "reed" or "ratan", the ordinary synonyms of the name. But literary tradition seems more or less to restrict the term to a creeper with a flower of a special character. The Sanskritists regard Vanji as only a creeper, although in the form Vanjuḷa it has the meaning "cane reed", as well as "ratan". But the familiar usage of Tamil literature seems to be as much to the characteristic flower as to the creeper or plant. The contrast, in which it is being brought in on so many occasions in the Silappadikāram itself, is to the term *Pūvā-Vanji*, unflowering Vanji, as the name which is applied to the town. Of course in contrast with it would be the *Pūtta-Vanji* or *Pūkkum-Vanji*, which would mean Vanji which has flowers. Since the feature laid hold of for bringing this distinction is the flowering, it is quite unmistakable that the name is derived from the flowering plant or creeper, and not "boat" which is the ordinary meaning of the term Vanji in Malaiyāḷam. The most familiar style of boat is there called Vanji, and Vanji-kuḷam or Vanji-Kaḷam has been taken to be a place where boats assembled in number. This meaning of an assemblage of boats is not at all inappropriate for a place like Vanjikkuḷam as it is now. So far therefore as the name Vanjikkulam for the name of the present-day village is concerned, it is just possible that the name Vanji is derivable from the Malaiyāḷam name *Vanji* for boats. It must be borne in mind, however, that the name Vanjikkuḷam for that particular village is of a comparatively later date. It does not occur in that form in any work of Tamil literature of the classical school. While Vanjikkuḷam may have formed a part of Vanji, the capital, in her best days, it may not be quite correct to identify Vanji with Vanjikkuḷam or Vanji-kaḷam, or, as it is sometimes claimed Anjaikkaḷam. The last alternative Anjaikkaḷam is the name by which the place is referred to in the *Tēvāram* hymns of Sundaramūrti, the guide, philosopher and

teacher of Chēramān Perumāḷ, the Chēra sovereign, whose capital tradition says it was. The term Anjaikkaḷam, or as it is sometimes popularly modified into Anjaikkuḷam, probably arose from the habit which continues even now of people offering gifts of various kinds, including even coins which are thrown into the tank in fulfilment of vows made by people. This habit is not peculiar to that place alone; dozens of other places in South India where this habit prevails and this feature therefore is noticeable, could be quoted. People call money thus thrown in as *anjikkam*, sometimes also *anjaikkam* popularly in Cochin. So what is called Tiru-Anjaikkaḷam and Tiruvanjikuḷam would really be two different names, names different in significance, but applied to the same place. Our concern for the present is not with those names, but with the general name Vanji, the royal capital, which is almost certainly from the characteristic feature of literary description, non-flowering, would indicate association with the plant or creeper Vanji, rather than with anything else. Names for places derived from a feature like that are not unusual at all, and therefore we have now to look for the name Vanji different from the two modifications found in Vanjikkuḷam. Where was this Vanji? From our examination above of the classical geographers as well as the two classical works of Tamil literature, Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai, we have reached the conclusion that Vanji was the capital of the Chēra kings, and was almost on the West Coast, though not in itself a sea-port, but somewhere into the interior. The classical geographers speak of Muziris as the port of the capital and have some references to a place called Karūr "in the interior" as the capital of the Chēras. The term "interior" of the classical geographers need not mislead us very much, as Pliny's interior is not to be interpreted as anywhere in the interior, but in the near interior, on the analogy of Nealkinda farther south which is distinctly described as an interior town belonging to the Pāṇḍya, but only 120 stadia from the coast; and this would mean at the very best ten miles in the interior. If a town about ten miles from the coast could be described as "interior", it would be nothing very strange if the same writer described a town somewhat less distant, say half a dozen miles from the coast as in the interior. We need not therefore be surprised if we find a town Karūr anywhere between five to ten miles in the interior of that

coast at the mouth of the Periyār, but going by the name Karūr, with possibly a very familiar alternative name among the inhabitants of the locality. We noted already that, while the name Karūr, as the name of the city which was the capital of the Chēra does not occur as such in the Śilappadikāram or Maṇimēkhalai, at least one of the old commentators, when he is explaining the place for common understanding, explains the term Vanji as Karūr. In two places in the Śilappadikāram, the commentator clearly states Vanji as Karūr which would imply that, to the people of his days, Karūr would be something easier understood, or more familiarly known, than Vanji. Does this not exactly correspond to the Karorakerobothris? Have we anything corresponding to the name Karūr in the locality, which would enable us to state it that there was a town Karūr in the vicinity of the coast? It must be remembered in this connection that in this particular region extending from Ernakulam to another port in the north called Chēttuvāy, some distance away from Ponnani, there is a backwater running all the way north to south at some distance from the sea. The land between the backwater and the sea may be said to be sea-made, and therefore sandy, and is of comparatively recent formation and changeable from time to time according to the vagaries of the coastal movements of the sea. Of course the Malaiyāḷis usually call that sea-formation *puduvaippu*, that is, new construction or creation; the soil is absolutely sandy, while the land side of backwater extending up to the hills is more or less of red laterite formation. The number of small villages along the backwater, extending for say eight to ten miles from the mouth of the Periyār northwards, have a number of villages with Karūr forming a part of the name, either in full or in part. An important portion just across next the Dutch fort is called *Kruva-Paḍañña*, where there is a little town with a small hillock adjoining. The latter part of the name *paḍanna*, as I learnt in the locality stands for salt-pans, as it is now a place of salt manufacture. This term *paḍanna* in Malaiyāḷam may correspond to Tamil *pāḍaham*, a plot of 240 *kuḷis*, and another term *paḍākai*, the cultivable lands of a village site. There is also the Tamil *paḍukai*, land on either bank of a river usually cultivated, the literary form of it being *paḍappu*. Karūr-Paṭṭinam and other places being similarly with Karūr all along this locality. At one end of it is a place which the Malaiyāḷis now-a-days call Trikaṇā-Matilakam, which is the understandable

transformation in Malaiyāḷam for a building or mansion close to the rampart to the east, what is said in Tamil in the 'Silappadikāram to be Kuṇavāyilkoṭṭam. The fortress of Vanji must have had its eastern rampart here, and it must have embraced within its enclosure a number of hamlets in it beginning with Aḻikkōḍu near the coast which probably stands where Pliny's Muziris or Tamil *Muśiri* stood, and not very far from where the Periyār empties itself into the sea, Aḻi-mukham, the Pseudostomas or false mouth, of Pliny and others. About a couple of miles to the north by west is Tiruvanjikuḷam near which is the mound called Chēramān Paṟambā where the Cochin Government is now making some excavations to see if any interesting finds are possible. Just about a mile and a half or two, almost in a continuous direction, is the temple of Koḍungalūr, Cranganur of modern times. A little way from it stand the shrine in which the Kshētrapāla image, as it is called, is placed. The modern Sanskrit name, Kshētrapāla, answers to the Tamil classical name 'Sadukkappūḍam. It is said that the Cochin Government Survey records mark, in all their maps, this region, extending over perhaps a greater distance, as Karur north and Karur south, thus indicating decisively that that region had the name Karūr, one part of which could be called Karuvūrapaṭṭinam being rather close to the sea and in touch with it directly or indirectly. The fortress of Vanji washed by the Periyār or Ān-porunai must be located within these limits, and can be, by a careful plotting out of the details of the 'Silappadikāram. The recent trunk roads are so placed that the road starts from the Periyār somewhere about where Aḻikode stands, and proceeds northwards in two branches, one going straight north along the coast, and the other going north-east close to the backwater and joining the main road some distance away. Going further north the road branches off into two, the main road keeping quite close to the coast as far as Calicut, the branch road striking eastwards in the basin of Ponnani, getting across the hilly country up the Ghats, by the northern side of the Palghat gap and proceeding towards the Nilgiris. This latter would answer exactly to the description of the route of march of the Chēra army as given in the 'Silappadikāram itself, and seems to be reflected in poem 31 of the Puranānūru [57]. Vanji and Karūr or Vanjikuḷam the capital of the Chēra's was certainly this locality as far as this body of evidence goes.

General Agreement between the Silappadikaram and Sangam literature

It would be well now to examine the so-called 'Sangam literature on the basis of the conclusions to which we have been led by the preliminary investigation made above. In the course of this investigation, we noted incidentally that the closeness of the agreement, in respect of the general position of the Chēra country and its capital, between the 'Silappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai on the one hand, and such scraps of information we were able to get from the classical geographers on the other, so great that they could not be regarded as separated by any very wide gap of time. The ordinarily accepted traditional date for the 'Silappadikāram, and the generally accepted fact that the Śilappadikāram and the Maṇimēkhalai could not be regarded as works produced at two widely different periods of time, would have to be accepted. If that is so, the period of the Sangam literature cannot be altogether very much earlier or later than the period of the Śilappadikāram. While therefore it certainly is convenient for many purposes to examine these separatelv, we shall find, in the course of the further progress of our investigation, that the historical details that we are able to gain both from the one and the other pieces of literature run one into the other so intimately that we shall be compelled to regard them as being of the same age as well.

The Sangam Classics and Their Age

The so-called Śangam classics consist of a body of Tamil literature traditionally associated with the period of the third Śangam so-called, and periods anterior to it in which some of the pieces included in this body of literature may actually have been written. With few exceptions this body of literature as it has come down to us is composed of collections of pieces actually written on different occasions, and, even at different periods in some cases, but collected and put together to illustrate certain literary modes of composition. The period when this collection was actually made and the persons, poets and patrons alike, connected with it are ascertainable, and their time also could be fixed with a considerable degree of certainty. These collections probably were made by different individuals, and, even possibly received the approval of an authoritative body of learned people, although we may have no specific statement to that

effect; but they have, however, been published at a time which is specifically definable. The fact that eight of these major collections received their invocatory verses from one author who is distinguishable by the attributive "who did the Mahābhārata in Tamil verse", and the patron at whose instance he is said to have made the collection and published it alike, would provide us definite data for fixing the age. This distinguished editor has the name Peruṁdēvan, distinguished by the attributive "*Pāratam Pāḍiya Peruṁ-tēvan.*" He edited these for his patron, the Pāṇḍyan Ugra Peruvaḻudi. This Ugra Peruvaḻudi, at whose instance, this Peruṁdēvan made the collections could not be far removed from another Tamil celebrity, the Pāṇḍyan Neḍuṁ-Śeḻiyan, victor at Talaiyālankānam. He is brought into intimate association with the doing of the Mahābhārata into Tamil, and of the establishment of the Tamil Śangaṁ. So Ugra Peruvaḻudi and the Pāṇḍyan. victor at Talaiyālankānam must have been alike contemporaries of this Perumdēvan, Ugra Peruvaḻudi being the later of the two Panḍyas, it may be his immediate successor, though not necessarily. Thus what the Śangam poems have to say about the Chēras and their capital Vanji, would have reference to periods contemporary with these two Panḍyas and periods earlier, and cannot possibly be later except in those cases where we could clearly establish interpolations. This theory of interpolation, while certainly interpolations are possible, should not be indulged in too readily, and without sufficiently weighty considerations in support. On this understanding therefore, we shall consider the Śangam works in regard to this particular point of our investigation, namely, what the native Chēra country was, and where its capital was actually located.

The Padirruppattu Relates to the Cheras Specially

Among the Śangam classics, one work stands out clearly as relating to the Chēra monarchs peculiarly, and we shall examine that first of all for any information we can get from that in regard to the locality of the Chēra country and its capital. This is composed of ten groups of ten poems each of varying length. Each group relates to a particular sovereign, and was composed by a particular author, who received a reward of various kinds in return for the learning and skill in composition that he actually exhibited in the course of the work. It demonstrates at the same time the great liberality

of these Chēra monarchs in the matter of literary patronage. Of these groups of ten poems, the first group or the first ten and the last ten are missing. The other eight tens have become available and have been edited by the expert hand of the venerable M.M. Pandit V. Svaminatha Aiyar. He is able to append just a few quotations, which are said to be quotations from the Padiṟṟuppattu, but not found in the published eight groups, justifying therefore the accepted position that there were two other tens. Of this group of eight, the kings who are celebrated in the Padiṟṟuppattu do not lend themselves to a strictly genealogical arrangement. They seem to fall nevertheless into two groups. The first four or five of these are known to be connected with each other, and their relationship may be inferred without chance of error. The remaining three are brought in in such a way that we cannot be perfectly certain about their actual relationship to their predecessors. Nevertheless we may take it for certain, these were not removed by any large interval of time from their predecessors, as the poets who celebrated them are poets known otherwise to have lived about the same time and in the generation to which the bulk of the so-called Śangam poets did belong. With this introduction, we may now proceed to consider these Chēras in the order in which they come in in the Padiṟṟuppattu.

The first Chera of this group Imayavaramban

The first Chēra, the hero of the second ten is designated Neḍum Śēral Ādan, and is described by the distinguishing epithet "*Imaya-varamban*", "of the Himalayan boundary", which would mean that his territory was bounded on the northern side by the Himalayas. His father's name is given in the concluding stanza, called *padiḳam*, as Udiyam Śēral, and his mother as Veḷiyan Vēḷ Māḷ. This Udiyam Śēral was probably the hero of the first ten. Nedum-Śēral his son is said to have had a long reign of 58 years, and was celebrated in this group of poems by a poet who calls himself Kaṇṇan of Kumaṭṭūr. We shall consider his exploits as they are found described in the course of the work almost in all cases, and collected together in summary in the *padiḳam* which follows more or less as something like an epilogue to the collection of the ten poems forming the group. These *padiḳams* as a rule are more or less introductions of a kind, and the rules laid down for those qualified to compose

these introductions, insist upon the composition being that of the teacher of the composer, a fellow student, a student who received instruction from him, or, in the last resort, the commentator. It would be seen from this recital that it is only the last one, the commentator, that could be removed by any appreciable distance of time from the writer. In the case of the Padiṟṟuppattu, the commentator happens to comment upon these *padikams* as well, and therefore it is clear that he was not the composer of the *padikam*, and that they came down to him from an earlier composer, whoever, it was. An examination of all the *padikams* shows that the *padikam* only brings into clearer statement what had been elaborately described in the previous parts of the work, in the great majority of cases; it is only in some few cases that details of achievement happen to be mentioned in the *padikam* which we cannot exactly locate in the body of the work. We may therefore accept the statement of the *padikam* as almost of the same authority as the very poems themselves.

Imayavaramban's Achievements

Coming to the actual achievements of Imaya Varamban Sēral Ādan, he is addressed in the first poem of the second section as the Chēra who destroyed the Kaḍambu tree, root and branch, and ruled in a place called Naṟavu as a well known warlike king. Further down in the poem it is stated that his territory extended from the Himalayas, the habitual place of assembly of the Āryas, in the north, to the Kumāri (Cape Comorin) in the south. The first of these ideas, the destruction of the Kaḍambu tree occurs again in the next following poem. In poem 14 he is described in lines 11-12 as one who wore on his chest "the garland of the seven crowns", and as one who gave protection to the good and the disciplined.[58] The wearing of "the garland of the seven crowns" occurs again in poem 16, line 17[59]. In poem 17 the destruction of the Kaḍambu is under reference. But the description is given that he had to sail into the sea spraying cold water, to get at the tree[60]. This idea is repeated in poem 20 where he is described as the Neḍum Śēral Ādan, who entered an island in the sea, overcoming the opposition of his enemies, and then cut the Kaḍambu tree.[61] The *padikam* or the epilogue repeats all these, and gives in addition the parentage of the monarch as given in the beginning, that he was the son of Udiyam Śēral and Veḷiyan Vēḷ Māḷ. He is successively given credit for the imprinting of the bow emblem

on the Himalayas, and for having brought under his authority the Āryas of the north. In the next one he is said to have captured the Yavanas, bound their hands behind their back, poured ghee on their heads and collected rich ransom for their release, which he brought to his capital and distributed among those who deserved his liberal patronage. So far as this particular poem is concerned, the ruler apparently had his headquarters, for the time it may be, at a place called Naṛavu, which the late Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar identified with Naura of Pliny,[62] which is called Nitrias by Ptolemy later. Naṛavu in Tamil may well have been called Navura by an unconscious metathesis by the foreign sailors who heard the name from the local folk. But Ptolemy's name Nitrias must be the result of more careful enquiry, and leads to its identification with Mangalore, the name Nitrias being derivable from Nētrāvati, the river which runs round Mangalore on the south and empties itself into the sea. There is also a description of the island called Nitrias set over against it which, in his time, was known to have been a piratical rendezvous. The getting into the sea and the cutting down of the Kaḍambu tree seem both to indicate that it was the people, the Kaḍambas who were the inhabitants of this locality, that seem to be under reference. Defeating them in battle, getting to the headquarters or the scene of power of a people and destroying their tree-totem were the usual signs of complete conquest and subjugation of hostile people. All these achievements clearly indicate the scene of these activities to have been in what is now-a-days called North Malabar, almost at the northernmost extremity of the Malaiyāḷam speaking region even in quite historical times. The mention of his capital as *Naravu* or Navura would place his capital in North Malabar. Nevertheless this was in the coast region and almost on the sea shore. The invasion of the north, the imposing of his authority over the Āryas and the imprinting of the bow-emblem on the Himalayas, all of these seem to be achievements against his immediate neighbours, in the Dakhan, who claimed to have been Āryas, and give a basis for his claim for having planted his bow-emblem on the Himalayas, without pressing the statement into too literal an interpretation. We have shown elsewhere[63] that at the time to which this statement may have reference, it is possible for the Chēra to have fought against the

[62] *Vide* The Chera Kings of the Sangam Period.

[63] The Beginnings of South Indian History.

Āndhra Sātakarṇis or Sātavahanas, some of whose early rulers claim extensive authority over the empire of Asoka. His conquest of the Yavanas and the peculiar treatment he gave to them is not under reference in the poems themselves; but it is stated in such circumstantial detail in the *padikam* that it would seem hyper-criticism to call that into question. It would perhaps mean that that was an achievement rather late in his reign, and did not admit of sufficient interval for a separate celebration. Nevertheless that he came into some kind of a contact, hostile contact with the Greek, Egyptian or Arabic traders on the West Coast, is nothing improbable, and the reference is possibly to some achievement against them in connection with his wars on the West against the Kaḍambas, and those who succeeded them in molesting peaceful trade on the coast. Such details therefore as we have of this particular ruler in these poems make him the ruler of the coast country with his capital placed on the coast region making the Chēra country of his reign the country between the Ghats and the sea essentially. This we shall see will find confirmation in what follows.

Palyanai-sel-Kelu-Kottuvan

The hero of the next group is another Chēra called Palyānai-Ṡel-Keḻu-Kuṭṭuvan, that is, the Kuṭṭuvan who followed a large corps of elephants in his progress, which would simply mean that the strongest arm of his army was composed of elephants in a comparatively large number. He is plainly described as the younger brother of Imaya Varamban. He is in poem 21[64], the first poem of the second group, the king of the Pūḻiyar with a place called Ṡeṛuppu, which is said to be a hill, peculiarly his. Hence the description given there that it was Ṡeruppu untrodden. Ṡeruppu is ordinarily the sandals or Indian foot-wear, and the untrodden Ṡeruppu is the hill which had that name. Pūḻiyar is a term sometimes applied to the Pāṇḍyas as well, but seems applied here to the inhabitants of Pūḻi nāḍu, one of the divisions of the Chēra country. That is again a region in the north of the Chēra country, that is, South Kanara and north Malabar. In lines 28—29 in the same poem he is also addressed as the stout warrior of Ayirai hill. We shall find later on that this name Ayirai is a name given to the hill Ayirai, and to a river flowing from it, and references to Chēra monarchs often times associate the one or the other with them. The next poem of this

group No. 22, gives the important reference that he conquered the *Kongu*[65] country famous for its cattle, line 15. The manner of introduction of this "having conquered Kongu" would naturally imply that it was a new conquest, and Kongu was not under the rule of his predecessor brother. He is said later on in the poem to have destroyed the high walled Ahappā, which must have been a strong fortress in this region, as it is referred to frequently in the Śangam poems. He is referred to here as the Kuṭṭuvan who had destroyed Ahappā as if it were a great achievement. There is a very important reference in poem 28 [66] where the festival of the freshes *in the Periyār* is under reference. The reference actually is that, by the undue lengthening of the summer, the hills themselves became dry and the hill streams carried no water. Even in such seasons this river flowed full. The reference to the river is in the form *Pēriyāṛu*, which may be taken to mean merely the great river. But in the context here it seems undoubtedly to refer to a particular river, and that river, the peculiar river of the Chēra monarch; and that great festival was probably celebrated by the inhabitants of this capital. The poem 30 the last of this group gives a general description of the country, which would seem specially appropriate for the region of the Chēra country and not any other, thus giving us indication that the ruler under reference here is the ruler of the country of the West Coast. The colophon forming the epilogue of this group is of great importance. It begins with the statement that this Chēra was the younger brother of Imaya Varamban. He made Umbarkāḍu a permanent possession of his. Umbarkāḍu would mean literally the forest of elephants. Probably it here means the region round the Anamalais, which is on this side of the Western Ghats. He destroyed Ahappā and set fire to it by day, showed great affection to the elders of his family, and distributed among them the extensive tract of land under his rule. This statement is of great importance inasmuch as it shows clearly that he not merely conquered regions outside the limits of his patrimony, but distributed these among his elder relations which, in less poetical language, would mean that he set over his conquests rulers or governors chosen from among his relations, perhaps as much as an act of prudence as of liberality. The poet of course emphasises the latter feature. The next achievement of his is said to be his having taken a ceremonial ablution from the waters of the two seas. The

poet also tells us fortunately how exactly it was done. He is said to have taken this bath one forenoon by bringing the waters of the two seas, eastern and western, by arranging a relay of elephants. The commentator adds the explanation that the two seas are intended for *his own western sea,* and the eastern sea across the interior *belonging to* others. The next achievement of his is worshipping the goddess of victory on the hill Ayirai. The juxtaposition of these two in the manner in which it is done almost seems to imply that he had his ablution on this very hill. The next achievement is that he is said to have adopted a course of life, most approved of the worthy, by following his venerated priest, Neḍuṃ-pāra Dāyan, who renounced life and retired to the forests. A further act of his requires also to be restated. The poet who celebrated him is described as Pālai Kaudamanār, that is, the Brahman Gautama, who celebrated in his poems that class of land described as desert land. He was so happy in his description of this kind of land that it became a distinguishing attribute to him among the poets. He sought his reward for his celebrating the great Chēra ruler not by any other liberal gift, but that the king should arrange that he and his wife should go to heaven. This ruler is said to have made the necessary enquiries of learned people and celebrated ten great sacrifices for the purpose. In the course of celebrating the tenth, the Brahman and his wife who were present disappeared from view.

Narmudiccheral

The third of these rulers is named in the usual elaborate fashion as the Śēral who wore a crown of fibre and a garland of *kaḷankāy* (களங் காய்க்கண்ணி நார்முடிச்சேரல்). The fourth section of this collection is by the poet Kāppiyanār of Kāppiyāṛu, celebrating the particular Chēra mentioned above. In the first poem of this group there is a clear reference to Vishṇu taken by the commentator to be a natural reference to the temple of *Anantaśayanam* (Trivandrum)[67]. In this connection a custom is referred to, that people threw precious articles into the sea, took their bath, and came to the temple hungry, and waited for worship; and having done it returned to their places in safety. The point of reference here is that the ruler provided for safety on the way for people coming from great distances for the purpose of worship. Poem 32 contains a reference in regard to this victorious monarch, that he subdued the chieftain Anji, who is

referred to here by his family name Neḍumiḍal (meaning, generally, the strong one)[68]. We have to pass on to poem 38 where he is referred to by the title as described above in lines 2 and 4, and in line 8, the king of the Chēras (Ṡeralar), and in lines 11 and 12, the honorably rich one, and who had the sky itself to mark the limits of his territory *(Vāna varamban)*[69]. The late Mr. Sesha Aiyar felt somewhat puzzled as to the meaning of this term *Vāna Varamban*, which could mean plainly nothing more than that his realms were bounded by the horizon, a hyperbole often indulged in other phraseology. In poem 39 there is a reference in line 13 to a place called Pōrvai[70]. It does occur as the name of a place in other Ṡangam poems. In the last line his name occurs as Nārmuḍic-Chēral, and the poet refers punningly to the protection that his very country offered to those who sought it. The next poem, poem 40, refers to "the wearing of the garland of the seven crowns", which has now become more or less a familiar trait. In lines 14 to 16 he is referred to as the Chēra who destroyed root and branch the *vāhai* tree of Nannan "of a splendid car and beautiful garland"[71]. In line 20 he is addressed as Nēriyōn, possessed of Nēri, the hill which spouted water. Nēri forming part of a title like this is ascribed to the Cholas as well. But the Chera here is described *as the owner of the hill Nēri spouting water*. Coming to the *padikam* this Chēra is referred to as the son of the highly prosperous Chēra Ādan and Paduman Dēvi, daughter of Vēl Āvi Kōmān. The first achievement ascribed to him is that he put the frontiers infested with robbers in safety. He undertook a great invasion of *Pūḻi Nāḍu*, and defeated the chief Nannan at a place called *Kaḍambin Peruvāyil*, obviously his capital city, defeated him and cut off his head. As a result of this victory, he cut down the *vāhai* tree decked with gold. He is said to have fought several other bloody battles, and brought his dynasty into fame. He is said to have rewarded the poet most sumptuously by presenting him 40 lakhs of gold pieces and a share of the kingdom that he actually ruled. His period of reign is stated to have been 25 years.

The Chera Senguttuvan

Passing on to the next section, we come to the central theme of our work. The fifth ten deals with the Chēra Ṡenguṭṭuvan, the hero of the Ṡilappadikāram, whose achievements as detailed in the

Śilappadikāram, receive detailed reference in the 5th ten, giving us some little further information as well. The first poem of this group, No. 41, refers to his warriors. In describing his army, the soldiers are described as wielding the pestles used for pounding pepper, and winds up in the last line with his having entered into his sea for a fight against his enemies in general terms[72]. In poem 42, he is addressed as the warring Kuṭṭuvan. There is a reference at the end of the poem to the sea being a special feature of his territory[73]. In poem 43, he is addressed as the Kuṭṭuvan of beautiful garland, and as leader of warring hosts. In the lines following, lines 13-20, his liberality in the distribution of gifts is compared to the heavy downpour of rain, which floods the Pēriyār, and makes it break its banks[74]. The reference in the poem to ministrals who are men, and dancers and singers among women, who made it a profession to go from place to place, and by the practice of their art earn largesses from patrons is notable. The Pēriyār and the rain water on the hills flowing through it, are described in the same phraseology in which they are referred to in poem 28 of this collection referring to Palyānai Śel Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan, and the river is here referred to as *Pēryār*, not *Pēriyār*, as it is referred to elsewhere. In poem 44, lines 10 to 17 contain a historical reference to his attack on Mōhūr, the capital of Paḻaiyan, because of his hostility to a neighbour chieftain by name Arukai, an ally of the Chera[75]. In this campaign, he is said to have cut off the margossa tree, the totem-tree of this Paḻaiyan and to have got his elephants to drag on the trunk by means of ropes made of the hair of Paḻaiyan's women folk, cut off from their heads for the purpose. We may pass over 45 with reference merely to his being addressed as the Chēra wearing the garland of the seven crowns. In 46 there is an important reference to the Kuṭṭuvar, Chēras, generally who, on the backs of their elephants entered the sea, and, throwing their javelins, destroyed the enemy, driving them out of the place by destroying the efficient protection that the sea offered to them[76]. We pass on next to 48 where he is addressed as the fisherman (*paradava*) who entered the sea fearlessly, and fought against his enemies there. The poem closes however with referring to his people spending the summer, living outside on the banks of flooded rivers carrying their waters into the sea. The crowd of people that came to bathe in the river and spend a day in enjoyment on the

banks of it in summer, refers to a single river which is described as "rising *on his hill* and flowing into *his sea*", which would refer to the territory of the king being on the sea coast, and extending landwards towards the hills from which rivers could rise and flow down to the sea [77]. *Kānchi* may be here no more than the name of the tree as a feature of the river of the country. The next one, No. 49, has a reference to his achievement against Paḻaiyan [78]. The only special addition here is that Paḻaiyan received the assistance of other chieftains, and their warriors. We come to the last stanza of this section, No. 50, which does contain a reference to the Kaveri in floods. The Kaveri is described as running due east and in full floods [79]. The spaciousness of the monarch's qualities is likened to the vastness of the Kaveri in floods not only, but of three such, and is of some importance because of the use that has been made of this comparison for locating Vanji in the region of the Kaveri. Coming to the *patikam*, he is described as the son of a Neḍum Śēral Ādan, the king of the westerners who planted his tall flag, fearsome looking to the northerners. His mother's name is given here, Maṇakkiḷḷi of the Cholas; in other words, the Chola princess, Maṇakkiḷḷi. The next reference here is to his going to the north to bring a stone for making an image of Kaṇṇaki from, and bathing the stone in the Ganges, as a holy ablution for the purpose. This is described in circumstantial detail in the Śilappadikāram. The next achievement is described as his having overcome some enemies of his at a place called Iḍumbil, which the commentator explains as Iḍumbādavanam in the Tanjore District. He is said to have destroyed a place called Viyalūr, and getting across possibly a river, he destroyed another place called Koḍuhūr. Then comes a reference to a feat of his having destroyed the margossa tree of Paḻaiyan, and of his dragging it by a team of elephants by means of ropes made out of the hair of the women folk of Paḻaiyan. The next achievement ascribed to him is his destruction of the nine rebel princes of the Cholas against the legitimate ruler. They are said to have been destroyed at a place which is described here as outside the gates Uraiyūr. But the place where the battle was fought, as we know it from elsewhere, is Nērivāyil, not far from the southern gate of the fortress of Uṛiayūr, the Chola capital. He is said to have overcome these enemies after a long and continuous war. Several of these achievements have been described in detail in the previous poems of this collection,

while some of them are described in detail in the Silappadikāram' thereby making it very probable that these were actual historical facts.

The Chera who captured herds of cattle in Dandaranyam

We pass on from this to the next section, section 6, which refers to the Chēra, who is called the Chēra who captured cattle in the forest of Daṇḍaka, and the composer of the poem is a lady by name Nacchellai, *who sang of the crow*, and hence called Kākkai Pāḍiniyār. He is described as the son of the Neḍum Śēral, king of the westerners, and Vēḷ Āvikkōmān Dēvi, making him the brother of the previous two, the utirine brother of Narmuḍi Chēral, and a half brother of Śeṇkuṭṭuven. The first achievement ascribed to him is his invading the region immediately north of his territory called Danḍāraṇyam (Sans. Danḍakāraṇyam) where he took a whole drove of a kind of animal called *varuḍai*. This is explained as a kind of deer, which he is said to have brought to Tonḍi, his capital, and distributed it among Brahmans giving each of them a village in the Chēra country and a cow. He is supposed to have made the name Vānavaramban illustrious. Vānavaramban is the name which is sometimes applied to the Chēras. He is said to have reduced other chieftains and driven out, apparently out of his territory, other kings. He is said to have rewarded the poetess Nac-Chellaiyār, sumptuously with a *nine kā* weight of gold, and a lakh of gold pieces for jewellery, and is said then to have married her. In poem 55 lines 5—9 he is described as a ruler of the westerners, *Kuḍavar-kō* ruling the coast region[80]. He is referred to in poem 58 as a Vānavaramban[81]; and in poem 60 he is associated with *Naravu*, perhaps a coast town, apparently the same town as the one referred to in connection with Imayavaramban[82]. We may note here that the five Chēra monarchs already dealt with here fall in two generations. The first two happen to be brothers, and the next three happen to be brothers likewise, but sons of the first Chēra. All the five together therefore cover two generations and no more. We shall have to discuss this point further later on.

Seraman Selvak-Kadungo

Passing on to the seventh ten of the Padirruppattu, we come to the Chēra ruler described as Śelvakkaḍungō. The author of this

group is the well known 'Sangam poet Kapilar. The first poem of the group, No. 61 brings this Chēra into comparison with the well known patron of magnificent liberality, Pāri, an intimate friend of the poet Kapilar [83]. We pass on to poem 63 where the ruler is addressed as Ādan in the first line. In lines 8 to 12, he is said to have, in one siege, defeated and driven out the two other kings, that is, the Chola and the Pāṇḍya [84]. He is said in consequence to have conquered the territory in their occupation at the time, which seems to refer to the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of the Chēra, which had recently been occupied by the others. He is addressed further in line 60 as Ṡelvakkō, and the poem concludes with blessing for his long life. In 64 lines 1 to 5, his liberality to the Brahmans is adverted to, to whom a passing reference is made in 63 in the terms that "the Chēra" knew of no obedience except to Brahmans [85]. Then we pass on to poem 67, the opening lines of which mention two places Koḍumaṇam and Pandar of great fame. The ministrel is here promised largesses in the shape of pearls from the sea and jewels. In the last lines the ruler is addressed as the warrior of the high hill Ṅēri, the prosperous Chēra, [86]. Passing on to poem 70 he is said to have celebrated many sacrifices and thereby pleased the Gods. He is also referred to further to have pleased his ancestors. The poem closes with the wish that he may enjoy permanent prosperity enduring as long as the hill Ayirai [87]. We then come to the *patikam* where he is described as the son of Anduvan, elsewhere spoken of as Anduvan Ṡēral. His mother is described Poṛaiyan Perundēvi, the daughter of Orutandai. This name of the queen, could be rendered in general terms, as the queen of the Chēra, Poṛaiyan being one of the generic names of Chēra monarchs. But here it seems to be a proper name. He is said to have brought the Chēra territories under his control by turning out the enemies and fighting many battles. He is said to have done the duties enjoined upon him in the shape of sacrifices and other deeds of merit. It is stated that he had intense faith in Vishṇu, and he is said to have made a grant of a village named here as Ōkandūr. He is further said to have excelled his own priest in the superior knowledge he possessed of the real way of life. The commentator notes that the poet was given a present of a thousand gold pieces and all the villages that he could see from the top of the hill, which is called *Naṅṛā*. There is a poem (387) in the Puṛanānūṛu collection celebrating

Ṡelvakkaḍungō Āḷi Ādan, the same monarch with the greatest probability, and its author is Ādan of Kunḍukaṭpāḷi, according to the colophon. He addresses the ruler in the course of the poem (lines 29-30) in the terms of this well known title. In lines 32-33 his capital is said to be Vanji, the outer walls of which were lapped by the waters of the Porunai. The colophon of this poem contains the important information that this ruler died at Ṡikkaṛpaḷḷi.[88] This Chēra is referred to also in Puṛam 13. The colophon of this poem refers to Anduvan Ṡēral and a Chola called Peru Naṛkkiḷḷi "of the crowned head". The poet is one Muḍa Mōsiyār of Ēṇichēri in Uraiyūr. It states that the poet was there on the terrace of the Chēra's mansion at Karuvūr. The elephant upon which the Chola was mounted got out of control and was carrying him into the fortified lines of Karuvūr apparently. The poet anxious for the Chola's safety naturally wishes that he should return unhurt thereby carrying a veiled hint that the Chola was not entering the fortress in hostility; but that he was being carried helplessly by the elephant in *must*. This point is here emphasised by the commentator in explaining the actual character of the poem.[89] This Anduvan Ṡēral is regarded as the father of Ṡelva Kaḍungō. We shall have to revert to this poem in connection with its mention of Karuvūr and its association with the Chēras.

Sera Perum-seral Irumporai

We come next to group 8 which celebrates the Chēra Peruṁ Ṡēral Irumporai, son of Ṡelvakkaḍumkō and Paduman Dēvi, daughter of Vēḷ Āvikkōmān. This is a prince of great achievement and is distinguished principally as one who overthrew Takaḍūr, the capital and citadel of the Adikamān rulers. Poem 71, the first of the group, contains a reference to a shepherd chieftain by name Kuḷuvuḷ. The Chēra is described as having subjugated this powerful chief in lines 14 to 19.[90] After subduing this Kuḷuvul, he is said to have marched forward against other similar chiefs. We pass on to poem 73 which opens with addressing him as a king who supplied the model for comparison with others, but with no one whatsoever who could be mentioned as providing a comparison to him. Lower down in the poem, he is addressed as the wealthy one ruling over Puhār, (Kaverippaṭṭinam, the Chola capital). Next as the protecting armour of the Pūḻiyas (Pāndyas). Next he is addressed as a warrior-ruler

of Kolli, whose high peaks are covered by the clouds. The poet regrets that other chieftains will not accept a statement of his greatness made neither by himself, nor by greater men than himself.[91] In the next poem, 74, he is referred to as one who celebrated numbers of sacrifices after due enquiry and, performing these in due form, secured the approval of the worthy. He is supposed to have followed the path of virtue so thoroughly that he paid thereby his life's debt. His life was so exemplary that he convinced his venerable priest (Purōhita) to adopt the life of renunciation both by precept and by example.[92]. We come next to poem 75, where he is addressed as the Poṛaiyan of beautiful elephants and cars. If the kings and the chiefs would not accept his authority, where were they to live?[93] We pass on next to poem 77, (76 containing nothing worthy of note), where he is referred to as one who had defeated his enemies and turned them out into the forests, as if they were herds of cattle of the people of Kongu, the reference being merely to the enemies being defeated and scattered all over as the cattle of Kongu for which the country was famous spreading themselves out for grazing all over the country. Coming to poem 78, there is a clear reference to his destruction of Takaḍūr, guarded by valient soldiers.[94] His scattered forces composed of horses and elephants are compared to the sheep and cattle scattering themselves out for grazing, almost the same idea as in the previous poem. He is here addressed in 79 as the prince with a garland on his chest, the name for garland being one of his own titles, *Kodai*, the family title of the Chēras. His prowess is described in general terms, and the wish is expressed that his fame might remain permanent, as the goddess on the hill Ayirai.[95] 80 contains nothing worthy of note. Then we pass on to the *patikam*, which begins with describing his parentage as given at the beginning. Then follows his war with the Adikamān in the division Kolli, which had good water on the top of the hill. The enemy that he fought against here is described as the Adikamān chieftain of Takadūr, whose army consisted of soldiers carrying javelins. He defeated not only the Adikamān, but the two kings who came to his assistance; in other words, it was a war in which he defeated the Adikamān and his allies, and destroyed his capital of Takadūr, which conquest became the theme of a separate poem by the name *Taḳaḍūr Yāttirai* This conquest is described in the *patiḳam* in some little detail. The poet Arisil

Kiḻār, the well known Śangam celebrity, was rewarded with all that his palace contained, himself and the queen having moved out. He presented him also with the throne. Having accepted all that he gave, the poet begged of him to accept in return from him the throne and all the royal wealth, and became his minister to assist him. This Perum Sēral who destroyed Takaḍūr, ruled for 17 years.

Ilam-seral Irum-porai

We pass on from that to group 9 relating to Iḷam Śēral Irum-poṛai. This name, as opposed to Peruṁ Śēral Irumpoṛai, seems specially designed to indicate this ruler as the son of the former Peruṁ Śēral Irumpoṛai. In fact the *patikam* says that he was the son of Kuṭṭuvan Irumpoṛai and Vēl Māḷ Anduvan Śeḷḷai, daughter of Mayyūr Kiḻān. This group begins with an address to the ruler who is referred to as the warrior king, in poem 81 and is requested by the poet to cease from campaigning and pay a visit to his languishing queen, at least for a day, so that his war-afflicted enemies might have the much wanted rest from war during that day.[96] There is a reference to Kolli here in line 24. It has been drawn into supporting the position of the Chēra capital at Karūr in the Trichinopoly District. It is stated there that the visit would give pleasure to the queen who would come forward to see him, wearing the flower peculiar to the hill Kolli, incidentally giving rest to the enemy warriors. The poet indulges here in a fancy that, as probably he returned from his campaigns in regions as far out as Kolli, his wife would meet him with the characteristic flower of that region, and thus would welcome, with peculiar appropriateness, the war-worn monarch returning from his campaigns. We may have to return to this later. There is nothing further of importance in poem 81. Passing on to the next one, No. 82, this poem has again reference to the ministrel visiting him in his camp, and the poet addresses him as the prosperous king flourishing from the yield of his land, indicating at the same time his greatness; both as a warrior and as a prosperous and successful administrator, liberal in dispensing his gifts. No. 83 contains nothing worth noting. No. 84 again describes him as a warrior, incidentally addressing him as the ruler of the Pūḻiyar, speaking of Pūḻināḍu, a division of west coast country, and as Poṛaiyan of a beautiful car.[97] No. 85 refers to the wealth paid to him in tribute by Śenniyar Perumān, the Chola king, in

reference to the great liberality with which he rewarded the poets and ministrels who came to him, and compares his gifts as being larger in the number of villages granted than even those obtained by Kapilan from his predecessor, Ṡelvakkadungo.[98] Poem 86 seems to mention the river Vāni as his river. The commentator mentions Vāni as a river of his country.[99] Vāni is the name of the river Bhavāni, as it is called now-a-days, and is a river in the Kongu country flowing through the foothills of the plateau till it reaches the Kaveri near Erode. We pass on to poem 88. Lines 1 to 14 of this poem give a summary of the achievements of the Chēras who had gone before him, and he is addressed here as their illustrious descendant[100]. The conquests are described as being in the region bounded by the Vindhyas and the seas. The first achievement is the sea fight and the destruction of the Kaḍambu. Then the driving out of the shepherd chief Kaḻuvuḷ and, by the defeat of these and other chieftains, the driving out of the Anḍar (shepherds) of swift cavalry. Then the next achievement is the worship of the goddess on the hill Ayirai. Then they are said to have had the submissive services of the kings and the chieftains. Such were the achievements of his ancestors. He is himself addressed in line 19 as the *Kongar-kō,* king of the Kongus, as the warrior ruling over Tonḍi. He is described lastly as very liberal in gifts to those who sought his patronage which flowed as the waters of the great river. The term Pēriyār here, which would literally mean the great river, is interpreted by the commentator as the river which had its source in the hill Ayirai, and therefore the Ayirai river. After invoking the blessings of God for his long life stating the purpose of his visit, the poet closes the poem with the address "the owner or proprietor of the land of the sandy region close to the cool waters of the sea". The next poem 89 is devoted to expounding his righteous rule. He is addressed in the course of the poem as to the Irumporai of many javelins. Then comes the last poem 90 of this group, where he is addressed in line 13 as the valiant descendant of the valiant Māndaran. This Māndaran is also a general title given to the Chēras often. In the lines following, he is again described as specially devoted to the worship of the goddess of Ayirai and in the lines following 20, he is described as fighting his enemy warriors in the sea and defeating them by throwing his javelins. He is said to have collected the wealth

of the hills and the land, and distributed it among those that besought him. This is said to be the general characteristic of his Chēra ancestors. He is then addressed as the king of the Kongus, as the lion among the Kuṭṭuva rulers, as the protecting armour of the Pūḻiyar, as the warrior of the people of Māndai, king of the warlike inhabitants of Kaṭṭūr, and in other general terms[101]. The rest of the poem is devoted to a praise of the queen where the fertile land of the Kaveri is brought into comparison with her. The poem closes with blessing him for length of life stating that his days may become months, his months years and his years longer stretches of time. Then we come to the *Patikam* which, after giving as usual the parentage of the ruler, makes his first achievement, the victory that he won against the two kings and the chief Vicchi after destroying five hill fortresses. He is said to have overcome the great Chola of Potti, and the younger Paḻaiyan Māran of Vittai, in carrying out his vow to defeat him. Their wealth he carried to Vanji-mūdūr and distributed it among those worthy of his patronage. He regarded his loyal minister Mayyūr Kiḻān as even higher than his priest, very learned in the Veda lore. He is said to have brought the Bhūta of the great square and established it in his capital and performed festive ceremonies necessary therefor. He carried on his administration by giving efficient protection to his subjects. The poet Peruṁ Kuṅṛūr Kiḻar was the author who composed this group, whom the king rewarded most sumptuously by a grant of 32,000 gold pieces with lands, villages, and other appurtenances to make his life very prosperous and happy. He ruled for sixteen years.

This study of the Padiṟṟuppattu takes the history of the Chēras through two or three generations of rulers. Nevertheless it is a period of history which may be regarded as covering almost perhaps a century. But whatever be the actual length of time, the course of history is made clear through this period. Of the first Chēra unfortunately we have but little information in the poems as they have come down to us, excepting probably his name which we get from the next group, describing the parentage of the next Chēra. All that there is is that this ruler was known by the name Udiyaṁ-Śēral. He seems to have been already a man of some distinction from the hints that we get from the other poems elsewhere in

this collection. We begin the account of the next Chēra, his successor with his achievement against the Kaḍambas of the sea, defeating them and destroying their guard-tree. He is described in general terms as the ruler of territory between the Himalayas and the Āryas in the North, and Cape Comorin in the south. He is described in another connection in the course of this work as wearing a garland of the seven crowns, which would mean he conquered the kings and the chieftains, his contemporaries, either himself, or, it may be his father before him, as a possibility. We already see therefore the Chēra rulers extending their influence outside of their original territory with a view to establishing a claim to hegemony over at least the Tamil kingdoms and chieftaincies. Notwithstanding the general terms in which he is said to have exercised authority over the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, he is specifically referred to as having imprinted the bow emblem on the Himalayas; he is, however, stated in the *patiḳam* to have effectively established his authority only over *Tamiḻ-Aḳam*. He is said to have defeated the Yavanas of rude behaviour and holding some of them taken prisoners to heavy ransom. So far therefore as this Imaya-varamban Neḍum Ṡēral Ādan is concerned, these generally constitute his title to fame. The next Chēra we have to do with in this group of poems is his younger brother, whose achievements are more specific and capable of definite historical statement. He is specifically described as the brother of Imaya-varamban, that is, the Chēra, described above. He is said to have brought Umbarkāḍu under his authority. We have stated above that this term Umbarkāḍu means a forest of elephants and refers to the region round Anamalais, almost next across the West Coast territory of the Chēras. This would mean that he was the first to step out of the Chēra patrimony and effect the definite conquest of this region. The next achievement of his is the successful attack upon the fortress called Ahappā, and the giving of it over to be consumed by fire by day, which is nothing more than setting fire to it and destroying it. In other contexts this Ahappā occurs, and seems to have been a fort in the coast region of North Malabar. Then comes a remarkable statement which calls for special attention. He is said to have cherished particular affection for the elders of the Chēra family, and, in consequence, to have distributed among those relations the vast extent of territory he brought under his

control. This statement in simple language would mean, he brought considerable amount of territory under Chēra control, and placed at the head of his conquests members of the Chēra family as governors, which may be as much out of family affection as of military and diplomatic requirements. The next great achievement of his is his ablution from the waters of the two seas in one bath; and this would mean perhaps something like a ceremonial bath taken at the end of a series of compaigns which resulted in the acknowledgment of his authority in the extensive territory between the two seas. That means by implication that he started from the region of the one sea and extended his conquests to the frontiers of the other, extending from the western sea to the eastern. He is said particularly to have been devoted to the goddess of the hill at Ayirai. A careful study of the progress of Chēra conquests seems to indicate that they began extending their authority northwards along the West Coast through the whole of what is the Malaiyāḷam country now extending even further to include part of the Tuḷu country of Kanara, as the chief Nannan is associated with *Tuḷunāḍu* elsewhere, then struck across towards Kongu, the middle block. Ayirai therefore is what is called now Hagari in Kanarese which in modern times is only a river, but in these poems is referred to as a hill on the top of which was a shrine to the goddess of victory, and a river flowing therefrom as well. Both of them are under reference in this group of poems. It seems likely that this is the place where he had that ceremonial bath from the waters of the two seas. He is supposed to have been a king, very well informed for a monarch, and of great fame, renouncing life at the end of it, following the example of a very highly learned Brahman, Neḍuṁ Pāra Dāyan, whom he persuaded to renounce life. He is given the title Palyānai 'Sel Keḷu Kuṭṭuvan, probably because elephants constituted the most prominent part of his army. It must be noted here that in explaining the two seas, the commentator makes it out that the two seas were *his own western sea* and the eastern sea, which he reached by his conquest. It is he who, for the first time, is referred to in specific terms to have made a definite conquest of the Kongu, which is given the attribute here "famous for its cattle", making it clear that Kongu did not belong to the Chēra country, but was an actual acquisition by this particular Chēra. There are other features of a general character in what is said of him to support the view that his territory was on the West

Coast. He was succeeded by a brother of his, who is known as Kaḷangāy Kaṇṇi Nārmuḍi Chēral, the Chēra who wore a crown of fibre and a garland of a berry called *Kaḷankāy*. His prime achievement is said to be the beating down of a chief called here *Neḍumiḍal*, which the commentator explains as the natural name of Anji, the famous chieftain of the 'Sangam period, Adikamān Neḍumān Anji. It is just possible he was a predecessor of this famous Anji. It must be remembered that the territory of Anji was in the region of Kongu across the Kaveri on the other side. That particular region in later history is known as Northern Kongu. This would mean merely a continuation of the conquest of Kongu initiated by his brother. He gets the title Vāna Varamban just as the father had Imaya Varamban. It is but a poetical expression for his territory being bounded by nothing short of the horizon itself. He is also given the attribute "the garland of the seven crowns", is addressed in one place as *Nēriyōn*. The *patikam* gives him credit for having advanced against Pūḻināḍu, and, defeating the ruler there at Kaḍambin Peruvāyil, his capital, destroyed his totem-tree of *vā hai*, decorated with gold. He is also credited with many other conquests in general terms. We see here therefore definitely the conquests of the region of Kongu under both these brothers, thereby indicating, without the slightest doubt, that his patrimony lay along the West Coast between the sea and the Western Ghats only.

The most illustrious of this Group: Senguttuvan

With Śenguṭṭuvan we come to the most illustrious in this illustrious group of the Chera rulers, who had the honour of being celebrated by poets of the highest rank. Among them the most venerated is Paraṇar; and he is the author of the group of poems in praise of this Śenguṭṭuvan. For our particular purpose, the first poem of this group, 41, has reference to his sea which would imply the possession of a sea littoral as a part of his kingdom. There is an interesting reference in this very poem to the use for warlike purposes of *the pestles used for pounding pepper*. The river Periyār comes in for elaborate reference in this group of poems much in the same language, almost in the same terms, as previously under his predecessor, his uncle. Other indirect references to the river would imply the river being practically the one in his territory as was pointed out above. The reference to his defeat of Paḻaiyan of

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Mōhūr in support of another chief Arukai, would imply an extension of his conquest to the region of Mōhūr, which certainly will have to be placed beyond the territory of Kongu. His immediate predecessor carried the campaign as far east as Takaḍūr which would imply the complete conquest of Kongu started by his predecessor, and this Mōhūr must be in a southern direction towards the Pāṇḍya country, as the margossae tree etc., would imply, thus indicating perhaps the complete conquest of Kongu which is one of the attributes the poets usually give him in their poems. In this overthrowing of Mōhūr, it was not only the Mōhūr chieftain that was involved, as poem 49 states it that the kings and other chieftains came to the assistance of Paḻaiyan, the Mōhūr chief, so that the conquest of Kongu could not yet be said to be a settled conquest, and efforts were being constantly made to upset it. There is a simile in poem 48 to the river which takes its source from his hill, and empties itself in his sea, thereby indicating clearly the location of his territory between the Western Ghats and the sea. In the last poem of the group is an important comparison where his greatness is likened to the flooded Kaveri increased to three similar rivers. This passage has been drawn into lending support to the identification of Vanji with Karūr. There is absolutely no warrant for assuming that the Kaveri was the river of the Chēra from this particular reference. The river would be included in his territory by his very conquest of northern Kongu and Takaḍūr; but what is stated in the poem is nothing more than a comparison—a poetical comparison—to the greatness of the Chēra being as much as the vastness of the flooded Kaveri three times over, exactly in the manner in which a similar comparison is made in poem 14 where the Chēra Imayavaramban is stated as incapable of being measured even by the elements, land, water, air and the sky, more illustrious than a combination of the *nakshatras* and the *gṛhas* together, and so on. It need not be interpreted that the stars and planets necessarily belonged to Imayavaramban because of this comparison, nor the elements, the four out of the five. So here the flooded Kaveri three times over is certainly not a bad comparison for the vastness of the Chēra's territory and his great reputation. The lead given by the commentator that the three rivers referred to here are the Kaveri, Ān-Porunai and Kuḍavanāṛu seems very like a guess and that is all. Ān-Porunai here may mean the Amarāvati, the modern Āmaravatī near Karūr, and Kuḍavanāru is a little tributary

which joins this Amarāvatī. Notwithstanding the great authority of the commentator, it would be absurd to interpret the passage, the junction of the three, as meaning the junction of any three rivers, and the unacceptability of the commentator's interpretation is enhanced by the fact that one of them does not even so much as fall into the Kaveri apart from the fact that it is a comparatively insignificant stream. The poet probably was a man who belonged to that region where the Kaveri is at the widest where it certainly furnishes a remarkable sight when, in high floods, the river flows covering with its freshes the whole country round about. It is not that the one Kaveri in its floods that would be enough to liken it to the greatness of the Chēras; but really three such would be wanted. The name Ān-Porunai given to Āmravatī would be valid only for the period of the commentator. It would mean that the river received this name when Karūr had been completely brought under the sway of the Chēras and constituted the chief frontier town of the locality of the extended Chēra kingdom. Thus with 'Senguṭṭuvan we come to the establishment of the Chēra hegemony in Tamil India, that hegemony being established by the continuation of the conquest of Kongu started by his uncle, carried forward by his elder brother, and perhaps brought to completion by himself. Other achievements ascribed to him in this group of poems have reference to the invasion of the Āriyan country of the north, and other achievements, the conquest of Viyalūr and Koḍuhūr, and of the chieftain Paḻaiyan. There is the further addition for which the *patikam* alone is responsible, his intervention in the civil war among the Chola princes, as many as nine of them, defeating and destroying them and setting up the legitimate heir of the Cholas in his position of authority. This intervention of the Chēras in the affairs of the Cholas, and fighting a battle at Nērivāyil quite close to Uraiyūr would establish his intervention the farthest east so far as that intervention against Paḻaiyan shows his territorial expansion to the south. We thus come to the fact that the conquest of Kongu was completed in his time. We have the information from elsewhere that an ally of his the Malayamān Kāri of Tirukkoilūr killed Ōri in fight and made over his Kollikkūṟṟam to 'Senguṭṭuvan which fact is stated by Kallāḍanār in another poem [102]. So then it is clear that the conquest of Kongu could not have been complete up to the period of 'Senguṭṭuvan 'Sēra.

But even after, it was again disputed by the Adikamān chieftain Anji, though [103] puṛam 99 by Avvaiyār, establishes clearly that he was a member of the Chēra family set up there to rule over the new conquest possibly by Palayānani śel Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan. We shall have to return to this later.

The successor Chēra of Śenguṭṭuvan was a half brother as was stated already, and his contribution to the greatness of the Chēra is his reconquest of those pieces of Chēra territory, annexed to the Chēra kingdom by his predecessor as is stated in poem 53, and his other achievement is stated to be the reconquest of Naṛavu on the sea coast, and the establishment of Chēra authority there firmly. But his peculiar achievement is his attack on the region known as Danḍarāṉya, DanḍakārAṉya of the Sanskritists, and his carrying away vast herds of cattle from there. He brought them over to Toṇdi, his capital apparently, and presented them to a large number of people. He is also said to have, along with these, presented a number of Brahmans each with a village in the Chēra country, and a cow which looks very much like his trying to settle down colonies of Brahmans in that region, thereby showing clearly that the conquest of the Chēra Śenguṭṭuvan remained firm, and his intervention, if intervention it could be called, was called for only on the northern side of his territory or rather north-east. The next ruler that follows, and the two others that succeeded him form a group by themselves, and may perhaps be collaterals of the ruling Chēras. The hero of the seventh is said to have been a son of an Anduvan Śēral, whose name we have not met with in the regular line before. He is said to have fought against the two kings in one siege. We are not explained where exactly this took place. It seems again to be a reimposing of the Chēra hegemony over the Tamil land as a whole. He seems to have been a remarkable sovereign, and an exemplary king in many ways, and he was celebrated by no less a poet than Kapilar, quite as famous as Paraṇar among the Śangam poets. The next two Chēras are direct descendants of his, as their very name Neḍum Śēral and Iḷaṁ Śēral Irumpoṛai would indicate. His chief achievement is his overcoming of the chief by name Kaḻuvuḷ. The achievement of the first of these celebrated by another famous poet of Śangam fame Ariśil Kiḻār, is his overcoming of the Adikaman of Takaḍūr who must have been a rebel; but this time he is said to have overcome

the two kings also with him. What is worse, the conquest this time seems to have been rather complete, as he is said to have destroyed Takadūr, the capital of the Adikamāns. Notwithstanding the fact that the Adikamān was related to the Chēra family, and probably one of those relatives of the Chēras established in authority in the new conquest by the Chera Palyānai Ṡel Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan, the ruler proved refractory, and had to be brought to his allegiance time and again till he was now completely overthrown by this Neḍum Ṡēral Irumpoṛai. The conquest and destruction of Takaḍūr perhaps would involve the inclusion of north Kongu completely under Chēra authority, and north Kongu, as understood in the age immediately following, would involve the possession of all territory along the north bank of the Kaveri extending down from the plateau to as far down as Kuḻittalai, south of Karūr. His son and successor apparently is the Iḷam Ṡēral. The achievements of this Chēra, the last of the group we are dealing with, is the defeat of the two kings and the chief Vicchi, after destroying five hill fortresses. He is said to have conquered also the Peruṁ Ṡōḻa of Potti and Iḷam Paḻaiyan Māran of Vittai, destroyed the wealth which he appropriated from these people among those who came to him at Vanji-mūdur, the first time we come upon Vanji-mūdūr in these poems. He is said to have made his minister superior even to his *purohit* in orthodox moral conduct. Another achievement of his was the bringing of the *bhūta* of the great square and establishing it in the capital, instituting annual festivals in honour of this *bhūta*. We find in this that the state of the Tamil country was still in an unsettled condition and continued to be so during the two generations or perhaps three, we have now dealt with. It was a period of effort to establish the rule of the three kings in Tamil India, and bringing of the petty chieftains to well understood loyalty to the kings. We cannot very well say from the facts before us it was established completely till the end of this period, if even then.

We may state here in brief that, as a result of our study of the Padiṟṟuppattu relating to the Chēras, we come to this position, namely, that, during the period of the two or three generations covered by this work, the Chēra authority advanced gradually to a hegemony in South India under Ṡenguṭṭuvan Chēra. The Chēra territory was a block of territory along the West Coast extending from Calicut southwards taking into it Travancore territory, right down to Trivandrum

at any rate. The first advance of the Chēra power was from here northwards to bring under Chēra control all the coast territory that constitutes now-a-days the North Malabar and the two Kanaras, extending into the interior perhaps in a north-east direction to the borders of the Daṇḍakāraṇya. The advance in the other direction was towards Kongu; and the first conquest was what these poets call Umbarkāḍu, the region of the Anaimalais. Crossing from there, the course of conquest extended into the Kongu itself perhaps in two or three instalments. The first step, taking them across perhaps the whole of the northern side of it, brought into the territory of the Chēras Kongu formed of North Coimbatore and Salem leading to the creation of a Chēra viceroyalty at Takadūr (Dharmapuri). As a next step in this direction, the Chēras advanced this time to the south of this, and came into possession of the region of the Kollimalais, which region was actually taken from its chieftain Ōri and made over to his Chēra ally by the Malaiyamān chieftain, known to literature as Tirumuḍi Kāri. This completes the conquest of Kongu which is what is to our present purpose, North Kongu as it was known in times subsequent, including the whole of the Kongu country on the north banks of the Kaveri extending southwards to at least as far as Kuḷittalai where the Āmravati, falls into the Kāveri. It is very probable that, as a result of the complete conquest of Kongu, the Chēras made Karūr an important frontier post set over against their enemies, the Chola and the Pāṇḍya who are referred to more than once in the course of the Padiṟṟuppattu as allies of the rebel chieftains in the region of Kongu. We shall have to revert to this point later. For the present we come to this that the whole of Kongu had been conquered and brought under control in the reign of Śenguṭṭuvan Chēra, but had not been completely subdued till in the generation following Peruṁ Śēral Iruṁpoṟai had to destroy the capital and bring the chieftains, the Adikaman chieftains of Tagaḍūr, to reason. Paraṇar, the poet who wrote the poem on Śenguṭṭuvan included in this group, Padiṟṟuppattu, belongs to this generation of the Chēra rulers dealt with in the Padiṟṟuppattu, and was contemporary with most of the poets who composed the poems in honour of the other Chēra rulers. The generation in which he lived takes into it four or five successions of rulers in the Tamil country. As shedding a peculiar light on this period, I have included as an

appendix to this part of the work a lecture which I delivered before the Madras University in the January—February of the year 1918 on this subject, which has subsequently been included in my work, The Beginnings of South Indian History. The lecture is published as it was actually delivered, except for two or three verbal corrections and just one or two modifications of ideas indicated in notes.

The age of Paranar

It will be noticed from what has been said in relation to the condition of Indian civilization at the dawn of the Christian Era that the information put together has been drawn from various sources which have been merely indicated in the course of the narration. It would be worthwhile classifying and arranging these sources with a view to investigating what exactly the relative value of each of these sources would be in respect of the particular period to which that general account has reference. Some of these sources have already been explained in sufficient fullness to indicate their value such as the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, the chronicle accounts of Buddhist Ceylon. [1] We have also indicated in the course of the chapters II and III the relative value of the classical writers; and the Sanskrit writers who make any reference to South India have been examined in some detail in chapter I and their value estimated.

Coming down to inscriptions and epigraphical matter generally, it may be said that the material available for work for this period is so little that we might assume that the epigraphical material other than the legends on coins is perhaps as good as absent, except for the Asoka inscriptions and just a few others in regard to this part of India. There is left then the literary sources, of which both Tamil and Sanskrit, and various Sanskritic languages could be exploited usefully. But for this period even Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages are of comparatively minor importance to classical Tamil literature, and that we shall take into consideration now.

In order the best to understand the value of this literature and appraise it at its real worth, let us see a little more closely what exactly we can find in relation to the particular authors or particular generations of authors, and having projected from

[1] Vide chapters I and II, The Beginnings of South Indian History.

such information as is available, a picture from these sources alone, we might then so far compare that with what may be available, to check the accuracy of it, from the other external sources to establish the correctness of the picture already drawn of South India at the beginning of the Christian Era. To do this, we shall take a poet known to readers of classical Tamil as Paraṇar.

Paraṇar was one of those traditional 49 literary men who constituted the third academy of Madura. His name is of peculiar importance in Tamil literature as it connects itself with the names of certain well-known celebrities in that literature, and in consequence we could gather round his name certain well-known figures. Moreover, he seems to have been a long lived man and his generation takes in a pretty long series of rulers and poets. By studying him we can gain something like a full idea of what the south India of his days was. Paraṇar is regarded traditionally as a Brahman. His writings occur in a large number of the Tamil classics known collectively as Ṡangam literature. He is a poet who sang of the Çhēra Ṡenguṭṭuvan, whose name is connected at once with the Ṡangam classics on the one side, and with the twin-epic Ṡilappadikāram-Maṇimēkhali which, it has recently been contended should be regarded as something quite apart from the former, and separated from them by a comparatively wide interval of time. It will be clear even to the lay reader if Paraṇar sang of Ṡenguṭṭuvan, as he does in the fifth book of the Padiṟṟupattu, and if Ṡenguṭṭuvan's younger brother was the author of the Ṡilappadikāram, and his friend, Ṡāttan the author of the Maṇimēkhalai, then the age of all of these must be one and the same whatever that age might be. Of Paraṇar's works we have twelve short pieces in the collection Naṟṟiṇai, fifteen poems in the Kuruṁtokai, one ten of the ten-tens (Padiṟṟuppattu); thirty-two poems in the collection Ahanāṅūṟu and twelve in the Puṟanāṅūṟu, with one in the collection called Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai. And such a number would be considered voluminous work, and have a comparatively wide range in respect both of matter and manner. In Puram 4, he[2] celebrates a Chola Uruvapahṟēr

2 பொலங்தேர்மிசைப் பொலிவுதோன்றி
மாக்கட னிவங்தெழுதருஞ்
செஞ்ஞாயிற்று க்கவினை மாதோ
யனையை யாகன்மாறே

Iḷamjētchenni whose somewhat queer name seems to be derived from a comparison which this poet has instituted to him in the poem under reference, where he is likened to the morning sun who in radiant majesty, rises out of the sea in the glorious red of dawn. This Chola we know from the poem Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai of Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār, [3] was the father of the great Chola Karikāla. He celebrates in Puṛam 63, the Chēra (Kuḍakkō Neḍumśēraḷādan), [4] and the Chola (Peruviraṟkkiḷḷi) when both had fought and fallen on the field of battle. This same event is celebrated by another poet who goes by the name Kaḷāttalaiyār [5]. One of the so called last seven patrons by name Pēhan whose territory was round the Palnis was celebrated by this poet. One of the references to him is in regard to his large beneficence without expectation of a reward [6]. One supreme instance of such being his providing a wild peacock with a cloak or mantle as a protection against cold. The second which is more to our point is his intercession in behalf of Pēhan's wife Kaṇṇaki (not the heroine of the Śilappadikāram) whom he had abandoned in favour of a courtesan. Paraṇar pursuaded him to walk in the path of rectitude by returning to his wife. On this same occasion in the same sad connection three other poets intervened in behalf of the abandoned wife. Their names are: Kapilar, Ariśil Kiḻār, and Perunguṅrūr Kiḻar, authors respectively of the seventh, eighth, and ninth 'tens of the 'ten-tens' collection *Padiṟṟuppattu*. In Puṛam 369 there is reference, according to the colophon, to the 'Sēramān Kaḍalōṭṭiya Vēl Keḻu Kuṭṭuvan (Kuṭṭuvan, Chēra, who drove his enemies with his javelin into the sea) who must be regarded as identical with Śenguṭṭuvan of the Śilappadikāram, as Paraṇar refers to this latter in almost identical terms in poem 46 of the Padiṟṟuppattu [7]. In Naṟṟinai six, he refers to the chieftain Ōri of the Kollimalais, and in stanza 201 of the same work he has reference

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3 உருவப்பஃறேரிளை யோன்சிறுவன்

4 Note at foot of the poem Puram 62.

5 Puram 141 and 142.

6 Puram 144 and 145.

7 பல்செறுக்கடந்த கொல்களிற்றியானைக்
கோடுநரல் பௌவங்கலங்கவே லிட்டு
டுடைதிரைப் பரப்பிற்படுகடலோட்டிய
வெல்புகழ்குட்டுவன்

to the famous statue of the goddess Kollipāvai. This poet also describes in some detail various transactions in connection with the chief Nannan of Konkan (Koṅkānam). Chief among this was the war that the Chēra undertook against him. In the course of this war, or in another, the Chēra general called Āay Eyinan, the commander-in-chief of the Chēra fell in battle against Nannan's commander-in-chief, Gñimili[8]. He also refers to the accumulation of the vast wealth of Nannan in the citadal Pāḻi. One poem in Kuruṁtogai (292) gives in detail the story of Nannan's putting to death the girl that ate the fruit of Nannan's garden carried down stream in a canal through the garden[9]. The savagery of this chieftain is again brought under reference in Naṟṟiṇai 270, where he is described as having shorn his enemies' women folk of their hair to make ropes of them for fastening captured elephants. Reference has already been made to Paraṇar's stating that a tribe of people, the Kōśar, entered Nannan's territory after killing his state elephant[9(a)]. There are a number of allusions to several incidents in the life of Nannan. Another reference that must be noted here, as of some importance, is to the entry of the Kōśar into Kongu in Aham 195[10].

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8 அடுபோர்ஞிமிலி செறுவல் கடைசி
வண்மையெயினன்வீழ்ந்தன்ன ஞாயிறு
. . . .
கடும்பரி க்குதிரையா அயெயினன்
நெடுந்தேர் ஞிமிலியொடு பொருதுகளம்பட்டென

9 மண்ணிய சென்ற வொண்ணுதலரிவை
புனறருபசுங்காய் தின்றதன் றப்பற்
கொன்பதிற் றொன்பது களிற் றோடவணிறை
பொன்செய்பாவை கொடுப்பவுங்கொள்ளான்
பெண்கொலை புரிந்த நன்னன் போல

9 (a) நன்னன்
நறுமாகொன்று நாட்டிற் போகிய
ஒன்றுமொழிக்கோசர்

10 கண்கவினழித்ததன் றப்பற்றெறுவர
வொன்றுமொழிக்கோசர்க்கொன்று முரண்போகிய
கடுந்தேர்த்தி தியனழுக்கைக்கொடுங்குழை
யன்னிஞிமிநிலியினியலும்.

Returning now to the fifth-ten of the Padirrupattu, where he celebrates Śenguṭṭuvan Chēra, we find Senguṭṭuvan Chēra described in the *padikam* (epilogue) as the son of Neḍuṁśēralādan "King of the westerners" by Maṇakkiḷḷi, a Chola Princess [11]. He is said first of all to have marched across forests up to the Ganges, defeating his enemies on the way for the purpose of a stone to make the statue of Pattini (the deified heroine Kaṇṇaki). He is also said to have returned from the expedition bringing in a vast number of heads of cattle belonging to his enemies. The next achievement of his is the utter defeat of his enemies at Viyalūr and the destruction of the place. Getting across to the other shore, he destroyed the fortifications of Koḍuhar. He marched further into the territory of Paḷaiyan, and, having cut down his margosa tree (perhaps another totem), captured a number of his elephants and yoked them together by ropes made of the hair of the women folk of the enemies. His next exploit is the defeat and destruction of a number of Chola princes, collateral cousins of the reigning ruler, who carried on constant war for the time being outside Vāyil (Nērivāyil of other works). And last of all is the destruction of his enemies on the sea, which was already referred to in connection with Puṟam 369. Of the various incidents found in this *padikam* (the epilogue of the poem) some of them are described in detail in the body of the poem itself. His northern invasion is described in general terms in lines 6 to 11 of poem 43 of the Padirrupattu [12]. His invasion against the territory of Paḷaiyan and his allies, and what he is said to have done there in the course of this war are described in some fullness of detail in lines 10 to 17 of poem 44 [13]. There is a reference to his wearing "the garland of seven crowns" in line 6 of poem 45 [14]. In poem 46, lines 11 to 14, there is a clear reference to his fight on the sea and the destruction of the protection that the sea offered to his enemies; obviously the pirates who found their shelter in the sea [15]. In line 4 of stanza 48, he is described figuratively as a veritable fisherman [16],

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11 She is called Narchonai in the Silappadikaram.

12 See note 22 following.

13 See note 75 above.

14 எழுமுடிமார்பின் எய்திியசோல்

15 See note 76 above.

16 See note 77 (*a*) above.

who constantly engaged himself on the sea to get rid of his enemies with a view to making the articles coming over sea, available to those inside his own territory. In poem 49 lines 7 to 10 and in lines 16 to 17, there is a reference again to the determined stand made by Paḻaiyan against this Chēra and his final destruction[17]. The last of all in poem 50, line 7, there is an obvious reference to the junction of the three rivers Kāveri, Āmrāvati, and Kuḍavanāṟu[18]. This last reference I bring in here, as recently a great deal had been made of it to show that the capital of the Chēra was Karūr on the Āmravati (Ān Porunai or Porundam). As agaisnt this there is in this very poem itself a number of references to the perennial flow of water in his Periyār, which in one place at any rate is described as having its source in his territory and emptying itself into the sea in his own territory (L. 13 to 18 of poem 48).[19] Reference also might be made to line 15 of poem 43[20]. The meaning of the reference to the three rivers is obvious if one remembers that his uncle is said to have conquered the country of Kongu in line 15 to 16 of poem 22 of this collection[21].

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[17] See note 78 (*a*) above.

[18] See note 79 above.

[19] See note 77 (*b*) above.

[20] See note 74 above.

[21] The passage in poem 50 relating to the joining of the three rivers may be literally translated "flowing due east and carrying the water to the full is the Kaveri; you resemble the junction of three such rivers in full flood"*. This would hardly support the specific interpretation of the commentator that this has apparently reference to the Kaveri, Amarāvati, and Kuḍavanāru. As a simple fact, the river Kuḍavanāru in the vicinity is a small stream that falls into the Amarāvati. If this is what the commentator actually meant, it is hardly in keeping with the idea underlying the poet's statement. The Kuḍavanāru falls into the Amarāvati. It does not join the Kaveri. The Amaravati joins the Kaveri a considerable distance lower down than Karūr, and is joined by a considerable stream from the left bank of the Kaveri, now called Karai Kōṭṭuān-āṟu. It is quite likely that it had the name Kudavanāru. But then where is the need that there should be three rivers actually joining to meet the sentiment to which the poet here gives expression? The poet saw the expansive Kaveri in full floods apparently, and was full of admiration for the magnificent river flowing so full. When he had occasion to see the monarch

*வளங்கெழு சிறப்பினுலகம்புரை இச்
செங்குணக்கொழுகுங்கலுழிமலிர்நிறைக்
காவிரியன்றியும் பூவிரிபுனலொரு
மூன்றுடன்கூடிய கூடலனையை.

Of these achievements, the Śilappadikāram describes elaborately his northern invasion, and makes clear reference to his having undertaken it for the purpose of bringing the stone for making the image, and of the various details as to his victories against the northern enemies; but how far the invasions were true is not exactly to our purpose at present. It is, however, a pity that there is not a reference to this *pattini* in those words in the body of the work apart from the epilogue. What is called a *padikam* or *pāyiram* in Tamil, an epilogue and a prologue respectively, is not to be added at any time by everybody that chooses. It is generally of the nature of a preface, or a foreword, or a recommendation made by one more or less directly or intimately connected with the author. The only remote man who can do this is a commentator; but I believe not generally one who is separated very remotely from the author. In any case, the presumption of the statement being untrue would be unwarranted when we find all the other statements made in this piece are confirmed by reference to the body of the work. Even in respect of this particular it cannot be said that there is no reference as it is possible to read it in lines 6 to 11 of poem 43.[22] The others of them are repeated almost in the same words in at least two places in the Śilappadikāram by the author, who is no other than the younger brother of this Chēra ruler himself.

There are, however, in respect of these achievements two matters which call for special remark. His father claims victory over

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and praise his greatness, naturally these expansive floods came into his mind, and, instead of saying as vast as the flooded Kaveri, he went one better and put it that it would require three such magnificent flooded rivers joining, to give us a correct notion of the great monarch's magnificence. There seems hardly any warrant to make more out of this passage than this. It cannot therefore lend itself to any kind of a notion that the Kaveri was a river of the Chēra country and belonged to him any more than the four elements and the luminaries, such as the planets and the stars, drawn in similar comparison in poem 14 of the Padiṟṟuppattu.

22 கடவுணிபெயகல்லோங்குநெடுவரை
வடதிசையெல்லையிமயமாகத்
தென்னங்கு மரியோடாயிடையரசர்
முரசுடைப்பெருஞ்சமந்ததையவார் ப்பெழச்
சொல் பலநாட்டைத்தொல்கவினழித்த
போரடுதானை ப்பொலந்தார்க்குட்டுவ.

Kaḍambu of the sea in lines 13 and 14, of poem 11.[23] There is reference to the same incident in line 3 of poem 12[24], in lines 4 and 5 of poem 17[25], and in lines 2 to 4 of poem 20[26]. The last of these refers distinctly to an island of his enemies which may be of the nature of a delta. He is also credited with having imprinted his bow emblem on the Himalayas after having subdued the Āryas of the north. But, strangely enough, he is also given credit in the *padiḳam* at the end of the second-ten of his having taken prisoners some Greeks (Yavanas), bound their hands behind their back as prisoners, and pouring ghee on their heads and taking what seems to be meant for heavy ransom for setting them free. It is the first achievement of his, which, in another place, the poet describes as giving him the primacy among rulers between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin, that gave him the name "*Imayavaramban*" Neḍumśēralādan, the former word meaning he who had the Himalayas for his boundary. This expression, like a few others of the king unfortunately, has been corrupted by the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai into "Imayavarman" for which there is absolutely no authority in the texts concerned. These achievements of the father are of some importance as the titles derived from these are applied to the son. The third ten of this work has reference to a younger brother of Imayavaramban, and therefore the uncle of Śenguṭṭuvan. He is given credit for having overthrown the fort of Ayirai (poem 21 line 29):[27] He is given credit for having brought the Kongu Nāḍu under his control in lines 15-22 of poem 23. Line 26[28] of the same poem gives him credit for having destroyed a hill fort somewhere. In lines 10 and 11 of poem 28[29] there is again a clear reference to the Periyār being the river of these Chēras. But of course the Periyār may be referred to generally as

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23 பலர்மொசிந்தோம்பியதிரள் பூங்கடம்பின்
கடியுடை முழுமுதறுமியவேஎய்

24 கடம்புமுதறடிந்தகடுஞ்சினவேந்தே

25 See note 60 above.

26 See note 61 above.

27 See note 64 above.

28 அண்ணலம் பெருங்கோட்டகப்பாவெறிந்து

29 See note 66 above.

the great river; but in interpreting this, one ought not to forget the statement that he it was who brought the Kongu under his control and therefore the river of the Chēra should be interpreted as having reference to a river in the Chēra country proper, and not in a later acquisition. It is this conquest of the Chēra that has given him credit for having bathed in both the seas in one and the same [30] day, which is only perhaps a somewhat exaggerated way of stating that, in his time, his territory touched both the eastern and western seas. So then we see that Ṡenguṭṭuvan who succeeded probably both his father and uncle became the heir to territory right across the whole of South India from the west coast in Cochin to somewhere across to the east coast through Kongu. Whatever the justification or otherwise, both the father Neḍumsēral and the son Ṡenguṭṭuvan lay claim to 'the garland of seven crowns', which could mean no more than what the Mummuḍi of the later times did mean, the three crowns and the seven crowns respectively, signifying the rulership of the three kingdoms and perhaps the seven states. This seven is not a mystic number. There seem to have been, *besides the three crowned kings,* seven principal chieftains among whom the territory in South India was divided at the time, as we shall notice in another connection. In this particular connection the historical character of these poems, cannot be called into question even by those who had the greatest objections to find historical matter in the twin-epic, Ṡilappadikāram-Maṇimēkkalai. But, as against them, this must be said that the authors of the twin-epic were one of them a brother, and the other a friend of Ṡenguṭṭuvan and what either of them has to say in the historical passages of the poem, which are easily distinguishable from the rest, find confirmation detail for detail in these poems which are very much more historical. All honest scepticism therefore must accept as historical such personal touches as one finds even in romances. The real difficulty is the necessary critical faculty to distinguish what is historical, in an unhistorical work. Ṡenguṭṭuvan Sēra's father and uncle, therefore, were historical personages in whose reigns the

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30 கருங்களிற் றியானைப் புணர்நிரை நீட்டி
யிருகட னீரு மொருபகலாடி

western sea littoral of India was infested by [31] pirates, and both the father and the son exerted themselves untiringly to put an end to this piracy on their coast. That they did it with great success is in evidence in the various Tamil poems which describe the flourishing and very highly valuable trade of the ports of the west coast. Such a state of things both in regard to the piracy of the coast, and to its absence at a particular period, are in the clearest terms detailed in regard to Roman trade in the works of the classical geographers. It has already been pointed out that Pliny complains of this piracy; perhaps soon after Pliny got his information, the careful author of the Periplus makes mention of it, in the region opposite his Chersonesus. He then proceeds to mention what he calls the White Island before coming down to Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica. The Chersonesus in the Periplus seems undoubtedly to refer to the tongue of land which makes a small peninsula at the mouth of the Kāḷi Nadi as it is called in North Canara. Opposite to this is the cluster of islands called the "Oyster Rocks" perhaps the Caenitae of the Periplus. White Island is the Lieuke of the geographers and is the same as the vernacular Veḷḷiyan Kallu or Tūvakkal, either of which is an exact translation of Lieuke or White Island. This is identified with Pigeon Island in the new Imperial Gazetteer [32]. Then we come to the first ports of Demirica (Tamil country) and they are given as Naura and Tyndis corresponding to Nitras and Tyndis of Ptolemy. Ptolemy describes Nitras as a mart in the country, which he describes as Ariake Andron Peiraton, that is the Ariaka of the pirates. It is of this Nitras that Pliny remarks that "ships frequenting the great emporium of Mouziris ran the risk of being attacked by pirates, who infested

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[31] This view of the term Kaḍambu in the poems finds strong confirmation in the City of Nannan having been known "*Kaḍambin peruvāyil* (vide *Padikam* in the fourth-ten poem 40 ll. 13—15) [1] and the Kaḍambar being one among four *Kuḍis* (cultivators) in Puṛam 335 ll. 7 and 8.[2]

1 பூழிநாட்டைப்படையெடுத்து த்தழீஇ
யுருள்பூங்கடம்பின் பெருவாயினன்னனை
நிலைச்செருவினாற்றலை யறுத்து.

2 துடியன் பாணன்பறையன் கடம்பனென்
றிந்நான்கல்லது குடியுமில்லை.

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[32] Vol. 20, page 136.

the neighbourhood and possessed a place called Nitras". Thus Nitras figures both as a mart and as an island off the coast. This could only mean that the island was on the line of entry to the port of Nitras wherever that was. Nitras or Naura of Pliny is identified by Mr. Schoff with Cannanore which appears too far south. Cannanore, as has been already pointed out, is the Mount d'Ely of the mediaeval geographers. Yule's guess that Nitras refers to Mangalore turns out correct. Mangalore is situated at the head of a delta formed by two rivers Nētrāvati and Gurupa. It is the Nētrāvati that has given the name Nitrias or Nitron, or perhaps even Naura, to the city. That may also have been the cause of the name of the island Nitron set over against the port. Tyndis is much farther south and has been identified with Kaḍalundi, not far from where Beypore is at present. Thus then we find the pirate coast of the Periplus to have been between Karwar point at the southern extremity of North Canara and the port of Mangalore. That answers exactly to the description that we get in early Tamil literature of the *Kaḍarḳ-Kaḍambu* (the Kaḍamba pirates) having been found in the sea and having to be constantly defeated by war across the sea to their island-rendezvous by both the Chēra Senguṭṭuvan and his father. That would explain why Ptolemy has got absolutely nothing more to say of these pirates than the mere characterization of the coast as the pirate coast. The Kaḍambas must have been a pirate race to begin with till they were reclaimed to civilization somewhat later perhaps. This conclusion is certainly in keeping with the position of the savage Nannan, the women-killer, whose capital is described, as already remarked, as Kaḍambin Peruvāyil, that is the large and the wide gate of the Kaḍamba country. He was after constant war put to death by another Chēra celebrity Kaḷangāykkaṇṇi Nārmuḍi-ch-Chēral, the hero of the fourth 'ten' of the 'ten-tens'. Thus then it is clear that these poems of classical Tamil taken along with what is available in the classical geographers makes it clear that the first Chēras known to history distinguished themselves in the southern opposition set up to the Āryan incursions from the north, and made conquests in south India so as to extend their territory from coast to coast across the peninsula. Their particular service however to civilization consisted in their suppression of this pest of piracy on the west coast which both the first Chēra known to us and his son took so much pains to suppress

while other Chēras perhaps subordinate chieftains did make substantial contribution towards achieving this object. The period when this littoral was free from pirates extended approximately from A.D. 80 to A.D. 222, the date of Putingerian Tables.

A study of the poems of Paraṇar with such of the available collateral material both literary and other, leads to this knowledge which is found confirmed by two collateral lines of evidence extraneous to this literature; namely the information available from the classical geographers, and the results that could be drawn from the various finds of Roman coins along the coast of this part of the country and these results might be set down as follows: Paraṇar has reference principally only to the Chola kings and the Chēra kings. He does not appear to have celebrated the Pāṇḍya rulers very much. He has at any rate something to say of various chieftains who figure incidentally in his poems, and the fact that recurs in respect of three or four Chēra rulers and chieftains that they wore "the garland of the seven crowns" would refer to the seven chieftains known in Tamil literature as the seven last patrons of literature. The Chola kings are in order Peruviral Kiḷḷi, his successor Iḷaniēt-Chenni, his successor Karikāla with an indirect reference to a number of Kiḷḷis (Cholas) who fought in fratricidal war bringing on the active intervention of the great Red-Chēra (Śenguṭṭuvan). In regard to the Chēra, he celebrates Imayavaramban Neḍum Śēral and his son Śenguṭṭuvan Śēra, a younger brother of the first and another chieftain Nārmuḍi Chēral a half-brother of the second, figuring as it were in between the two. We have certainly to bring in within the age of Paraṇar the chief Pēhan, otherwise called Vayyāvikkōn-perum-Pēhan. The mention of the Chola and the Chēra who fought and fell on the field of battle brings him into comtemporaneity with another poet Kaḷāttalaiyār, who celebrated the same event. This latter poet is also stated in another poem by Kapilar to have destroyed the capital city Araiyam of Irungō Vēḷ by Kapilar whose elder contemporary he must have been.

In this connection we may consider a few references in Māmūlanār, the other poet to whose work we made reference already in a previous chapter. One reference of importance is in poem 55 Aham, which refers in specific terms to the battle of Veṇṇil where the Chola Karikāla defeated the contemporary Chēra, who feeling ashamed of a wound on the back is stated to have committed suicide

by starvation. This very same incident is referred to by two other poets Kaḻāttalaiyār and Veṇṇikkuyattiyār in almost the same specific terms respectively in Puṛam 65 and 66. While the first poet's reference may be considered somewhat indirect, that of the other two is quite direct and specific, and is almost addressed straight to one of the combatants, the victor in this particular instance. This same poet Māmūlanār has in poem 126/127 of Aham a clear reference to the Chēra's achievement against the pirates, and this may lead to the inference that the poet was contemporary with him. He refers to a Pāṇḍyan also but gives no specific indication as to which of the Pāṇḍyans it is. There is in the same work 232/33 a reference to the Chēra who fed the hosts in the Bhārata war. What is more particularly to our point at present is the reference to a battle where Evvi, a chieftain of the Pāṇḍyan country, one among the seven patrons fell in battle. There he mentions the name of Paraṇar and brings him in connection with the fallen chief as having praised his valour, and that makes Evvi contemporary with Paraṇar. Another chief that is brought into contemporaneity with Paraṇar is the Adikamām Anji of Takaḍūr (Dharmapuri in the Salem District). This chief is said in poem 114 of Māmūlar to have been in hiding along with his relations out of fear of a chief who seems to be Nannan, if the reading of the text is correct. In poem 207, Paraṇar refers to the Kollimalais as belonging to Ōri, but in the next following poem however, another author by name Kallāḍan refers to the death of this Ōri. According to this, Ōri was put to death by Kāri of Tirukkoilūr who made over Kolli to the Chēra king. The allusion here is to a war, or rather a series of wars, perhaps of ambition. Anji of Takaḍūr laid siege to Tirukkoilūr of Kāri having defeated him in the field. Kāri not being able to make an effective stand against the enemy, went for protection to the Chēra who was anxious to get possession of the Kollimalais. Kāri volunteered service, went across at the head of an army, defeated and killed Ōri and made over the territory round Kollimalais to the Chēra. In the same poem this Kallāḍan refers to the battle Ālangānam where the "seven" were defeated by the Pāndya. We shall refer to this later. Without proceeding further unnecessary length we might now take it that Paraṇar was acquainted with the chiefs Kāri, Ōri and Evvi among the famous seven, not to speak of the minor ones. We have already referred to his connection with Nannan. Thus then we come

to a generation, Paraṇar's generation of poets and patrons, that gives us a number of Chēras and Cholas in succession, as also the majority of the chiefs who go by the name the last "seven patrons in Tamil literature". We shall consider one or two other poets of the like eminence with Paraṇar and then say whether the postulating of a body called the third academy of Madura is warranted by this body of literature. By way of summary however, we might put it here that the Chola Karikāla, his father and grand-father were contemporaries with the Chēra Neḍūm Sēral and his father, perhaps also this Chēra's son Senguṭṭuvan. The chieftains are: Pēhan, Ōri, Kāri, Adikan, Evvi, Nannan and Aay-Eyinan. All these seem referable to the same age, that of the generation covered by Paraṇar. The poets that we have already come across are: Paraṇar himself, Māmūlanār, Kapilar, Ariśil Kiḷār, Perunguṇṛūr kiḷār, Kaḷāttalaiyār, Veṇṇikkuyattiyār and Kallāḍanār, and these give promise of a complete academy by themselves alone. Though Paraṇar does not in so many words specifically refer to any particular Pāṇḍiyan, there is one reference which ought not to be passed over and that is in Aham 115. There is a battle referred to here at Kūḍarp-Parandalai. The first part Kuḍal would refer to Madura, the second part might be simply interpreted as a battle-field. In this battle the Pāṇḍya beat off from the place the two other kings who simultaneously attacked him and captured their war-drums. This sounds very much like the war of the young Pāṇḍya king known in literature as victor at Talaiyālangānam, whose history we shall take up for consideration.

Other Sangam poems on the Cheras and Vanji

Vanji, a West Coast Town: named after the Vanji Creeper

From the discussion that we have so far carried, it stands out clear that the Chēra country lay along the West Coast extending all the way south from the two Kanaras through a considerable part of Travancore—the extent here varying according to historical vicissitudes. The Chēra country to begin with was of a comparatively small extent, but grew by expansion of conquests northwards and north-eastwards, and later on eastwards across to take in the whole of Kongu. As a next stage in the expansion, it extended further both eastwards and southwards perhaps also somewhat northwards so as to establish a

Chēra hegemony over Tamil India. The capital of the Chēras was somewhere near the West Coast, and called by the classical geographers Karūr, the port of Muziris being also stated to be the capital by them. This would only mean that Karūr the capital could not be far removed from Muziris. Much rather, Karūr and Muziris should have been near enough to each other for both to be called the capital by the same writer. Our examination of the Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai shows that these classics speak of the Chēra capital by the single name Vanji, the name Karūr not occurring at all as the name of the capital in the texts, although on two occasions specifically, the earlier commentator on the Śilappadikāram gives the alternative name Karūr to the capital. The Maṇimēkhalai speaks of it only as Vanji. The poem Padiṟṟuppattu, which deals exclusively with the Chēras shows clearly that their territory lay along the West Coast, and important cities which happened to be their capitals are all of them towns near the West Coast. The name of the most important Chēra rulers happened to be associated with some one or other of these towns. Vanji as Vanji does not find mention in these writers excepting only once, in the epilogue to the ninth group where the term *Vanji-mūdūr* does occur, as the capital city of the Chēra Iḷam-Śēral Irumpoṟai. The silence of these poems in regard to Vanji should not therefore be held to imply that Vanji was not known by that name. Nevertheless we do not find any mention of it in the work except in the one place referred to already. The details of the expansion of the Chēra power, however, in the stages indicated above into Kongu is certainly very clearly in evidence, and therefore precludes the possibility that the Chēra capital Vanji is to be looked for in the Karūr of the interior, the Karūr in the Trichinopoly district. The Śilappadikāram uniformly names the capital Vanji, and the work does name the capital several times in the course of the narrative. The work also associates Vanji with a river which is called Ān-Porunai. The name Porunai also gets to be mentioned for the river, and, as far as could be made out by a comparison of the references, it seems clear that the Periyār is but another name for Ān-Porunai, and the capital Vanji was situated on its banks, at least quite colse to it. In regard to the name Vanji itself, it must be noted it is often times referred to in this classic as the "unflowering Vanji" to distinguish it from what may be flowering Vanji, the plant or creeper, Vanji, which, as such, would at least in season be putting forth flowers, whereas the town Vanji it

is impossible could do so. Vanji therefore is the name, which the author gives to it. But Vanji is a term which means a flowering creeper, which goes by the name *kodi mādulai* in Tamil. It also has the alternative meanings of rattan cane and the cane reed. The name given to the city, however, in the Ṣilappadikāram seems derivable from the first meaning of the word, the creeper Vanji as distinct from the plant or tree if we take a little liberty and call it such. This position of the author is made clear in certain references where he addresses the women folk of Vanji as those of Vanji and possessed of the slender hips, characteristic of beautiful women (வஞ்சியீர் வஞ்சியிடையீர்) which could hardly be rattan or cane reed, even by a stretch of imagination. So far therefore as the Śilappadikāram and Maṇimēkhalai are concerned, Vanji may be regarded as the literal name of the capital town of the Chēras, and the name seems derivable from the Vanji creeper in familiar use alike both in Sanskrit and Tamil literature.

Sangam poet Nakkirar and Karur

It may also be noted that, in the course of the study of the Padiṛṛuppattu, we have not come upon the name Karūr for the capital except for its occasional use by the commentator. The one reference to Vanji-mūdūr is just enough to indicate that that was a name well known at the time for the capital. This position so clearly established seems to be challenged by a Śangam poem of Nakkīrar, a poet of great reputation, and according to the Sangam tradition, the president of the third Tamil Śangam in Madura. This poem mentions in series Urandai (Uṛaiyūr) as the capital of the Cholas unmistakably. Almost as unmistakably he mentions Vaḻudi-Kūḍal-Kūḍal of the Pāndyas. In the closing lines of the poem he also *mentions* as *unmistakably* Kōdai-Tirumāviyanagar Karuvūr, Karuvūr as the prosperous great city of Kōdai (Chēra)[104]. Not only that. He also mentions along with it the sands heaped up in front of the city at landing places by the cool river Ān-Porunai. According to this author, therefore the capital of the Chēra was Karūr, situated on the banks of the Ān-Porunai. That this last refers to the Chēra capital is hardly open to doubt, as he does refer to the other two capitals. This is the only reference in the classical works of the Śangam age, where there is a specific statement calling the Chēra capital Karuvūr on the banks of the Ān-Porunai. We shall now

have to examine how far this statement really calls into question the well-known name Vanji for the capital of the Chēras, and whether it could by itself establish Karuvūr as the name of the capital, and that, the Karuvūr not on the West Coast, but in the interior.

Nakkīrar's statement in poem 93 is quite clear in statement that Karuvūr was on the Ān-Porunai. The statement is quite as clear that this Karuvūr was the capital of the Chēras as apparently his intention seems to be to mention the three capitals. On the basis of this, would it be justifiable to draw the inference that both Karuvūr and Ān-Porunai should be regarded as the town Karūr in the Trichinopoly District and the river Amarāvati on the banks of which the town lay? We must make sure what exactly Nakkīrar's idea was as to the Chēra country and its capital. Nakkīrar in poem 57 of the Ahanānuṟu has a reference to a siege Muśiri by a Pāṇḍyan monarch, and of his having pressed the siege to the great distress of the inhabitants[105]. This siege of Muśiri seems to be referred to by another poet, Erukkāṭṭūr Tāyankaṇṇan in Aham 146, and almost in identical terms[106](a). He refers to the successful prosecution of this siege, and of the Pāṇḍya having carried away from Muśiri a statue of some kind. In the course of this poem, and describing Muśiri, he describes it as on the banks of the great river Śuḷḷi of the Chēras. The further description is also given that up this river sailed the sea-going craft of the Yavanas artistically constructed, coming up the river with gold, and sailing down it laden with the pepper purchased in the locality. This latter description, which by the way is quite similar to that of Paraṇar in Puṟam 343 of the same Muśiri, implies of course the seaport of Muśiri at the mouth of the Periyār now, and the description of the movement of the shipping is just exactly what we find in Pliny, ships having to go up the river for unloading the imports and loading them with other goods. But we have nothing in that poem itself to make it definitely the capital of the Chēras, although from what has been said of it already, it must have been more or less a part of the capital town of Vanji. An elder contemporary of this Nakkīrar, the poet Paraṇar, who sang of Śenguṭṭuvan in the Padiṟṟuppattu, however, speaks in poem 396 of Aham of Vanji as the city of him who having reduced to distress the Āryas by his attack, implanted his bow emblem on the top of the Himalayas, and took prisoners the angry kings of the north[107], which looks very much like the achievement of the Chēra Imayavaramban, or his son Śenguṭṭuvan.

Whichever it be, we have in this, evidence that Paraṇar had knowledge of Vanji as the capital of the Chēras. Therefore then it is possible to infer that the Chēra capital had not the name Karuvūr exactly so as to make it necessary for us to take it that it is the town of Karuvūr in the interior. The name of the river Ān-Porunai which has already been pointed out is closely associated with Vanji in the 'Silappadikāram, although the 'Silappadikāram does not refer to the town Vanji by the name Karuvūr anywhere in the work itself. There are other poems in the 'Sangam works which do refer to Vanji as the capital of the Chēras, such as the poem 387 of Puṛanānūṛu in reference to 'Selvakkaḍungo Āḷi Ādan [108]. The poem according to the colophon was meant to celebrate this Chēra who is said to have died at a place called 'Sikkarpaḷḷi. We may take it that it is the same Chēra 'Selvakkaḍungo of the seventh section of the Padiṛṛuppattu. The town Vanji and the water of the Porunai lapping its walls are referred to there, and the association of the river and the town is about as clear as in poem 93 of Nakkīrar. Only the town is called Vanji in the one case and Karuvūr in the other. In addition to all that has been said above in regard to the Chēra country being along the West Coast and its capital, whether it be Karuvūr or Vanji, this capital should be on that coast and not in the country specifically called Kongu. We may now draw attention to certain other poems in the Puṛanānūṛu which refer to Vanji. A Chola Nalamkiḷḷi is referred to in poem 32 as being capable of presenting *pūvāvanji*, unflowering Vanji, to the ministrels who pleased him [109]. He is also said to have been in a position to make a similar present of even Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital. We may therefore infer that the *pūvāvanji* under reference is the Chēra capital. The commentator of course takes this *pūvāvanji* to be without a doubt in reference to Karuvūr, the Chēra capital. The same author, Kōvūrkīḷār speaking of the same Chola Nalamkiḷḷi in poem 31 celebrates him in the following terms.—"His warriors would not decline to march because the land against which he ordered them to proceed was at a great distance. They would march forward and carry out his orders; leaving the eastern sea behind them, they would march right up to the shores of the western sea and make the waters of that sea wash the hoofs of their horses; and thus coming round the whole of South India make the northerners sleepless in the fear that he

might march northward against them that way round *as was sometimes done*[110]". This idea looks very much like what the 'Silappadikāram states of 'Śenguṭṭuvan's march on his northern invasion; and the terms in which the idea is couched are quite reminiscent of those of the Śilappadikāram. In poem 36, another poet Ālattūr-kiḻār speaks of the Chōla who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam, as carrying war against a ruler who remained within his capital without coming out to fight him, although he could hear within his fortress the hewing down of the trees on the banks of the cool Porunai by his enemy forces[111]. In another poem, poem 39, another poet, Nappaśalaiyār, refers to his attack upon Vanji by bringing the Chēra to destruction almost, the Chēra being described as the one who imprinted the bow-emblem on the Himalayas showing gold veins, and being referred to here by the term, Vānavan[112]. This is in reference to a siege of Vanji, which the colophon to 36 refers to as the siege of Karuvūr. So far as the commentator of the Puṟanānūṟu is concerned, he is in no doubt whatever that Vanji and Karuvūr are two names for the same place, the Chēra capital, and the indirect reference in the poem 31 to the Chōla army going round the Chēra territory, or rather the capital, on its northward march is certainly sure indication that Vanji and Karuvūr have to be looked for on the West Coast of the Chēras.

The Sirupanarruppadai makes Vanji a West Coast town.

The Sirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, the third of the Pattuppāṭṭu collection has a reference to Vanji, which seems to put the matter well beyond doubt. It is in lines 41—50 of the poem which certainly refers to the descendant of the guardians of the west, whose beautiful car, and Vanji, his capital, are under reference[113]. He is defined as the person who implanted the bow-emblem on the Himalayas in the north. The features of his country are described as showing buffaloes going to sleep on the soft bed of the spreading creeper, *mallikā*, after having grazed over the water-flower, *kaḷunir*, in the pools of water in the shades of jack trees, on ground growing turmeric with its soft leaves and creepers of pepper. If this is the feature of the country, undoubtedly it refers to the Chēra country, which is described almost in identical terms in the Śilappadikāram also, the country between the Western Ghats and the coast of the Arabian Sea. The poet's purpose in the poem here is directing the ministrels to a particular patron. He does so after eliminating the

well known patrons of the time, the three kings and the seven well known chieftains of great repute for liberality. The passage under reference here has reference to the Vanji of the Chēras, the Pāṇḍya and Chola capitals following immediately the Chēra capital Vanji. The Pāndya is referred to in general terms as the guardian of the south, and the Chola similarly guardian of the east, the chieftains being located in the rest of the country. Apart from the physical features and the characteristic products we referred to already, the reference to the kings of the West cannot make the Chēras rulers of Karuvūr and Kongu.

Kovur Kilar even more decisive regarding Kongu Chera and Vanji

The point is clinched in poem 373 of the Puṛānanūṛu where the well known author Kōvūr Kiḻār celebrates as usual the Chola who died at Kurāppaḷḷi, as one who had attacked Karuvūr and damaged it, if he did not actually destroy it[114]. This poem, which unfortunately shows a few lapses in the middle, seems to be decisive in regard to the distinction between Kongu and the Chēra territory to the west of it, by first of all describing the Chola, as having defeated the armies of Kongu first of all in line 9, there being no lapse so far. Then there is a long passage extending from there to about 15 lines with three lapses in between. But the lapses do not seem to affect the general drift of the passage. Immediately after the third lapse comes in the statement that he made the frontyard of Vanji the cruel field of war, and then he is said to have defeated the Chēra and acquired the western territory. If anything could make it clear that Vanji, the capital of the Chēra rulers of the west, was distinct from the country of Kongu, this passage puts it altogether beyond a doubt. Karūr may have been a Chēra possession. But the fact is that the Chola advanced, conquered Kongu first, and then marched along, perhaps fighting his way through the country, till he came to the frontyard of Vanji perhaps to fight there. We therefore come to this that Vanji, the capital of the Chēras, certainly was on the West Coast. It sometimes was called Karuvūr by these very poets, indicating thereby that it was probably a well known alternative name. The fact that the commentator of the Puṛanānūṛu almost without a doubt, and the early commentator on the Śilappadikāram, at any rate occasionally, uses the term Karūvur synonymously with Vanji would but indicate that the two names

applied to the same city, and that city was near the West Coast in the Chēra country. We may now conclude that the internal evidence of the Śangam works so far on the positive side of it indicates as clearly as possible that the Karur of Kongu certainly was not Vanji-Karūr, the capital of the Chēras. There is the further fact that the Ān-Porunai is associated in these works both with Vanji and Karuvūr, and that certainly would be the western river Periyār on the evidence of the Śilappadikāram alone.

Other sangam poems show the same tendency

There are certain poems in the Puṛanānūṛu, particularly poem 13 which has been drawn into supporting the position that Vanji is the Karūr of the Trichinopoly District. This poem 13 has reference to a transaction between the Chola Perunaṛkiḷḷi and the Chēra ruler Āṇḍuvan Śēral Irumpoṛai. The Chēra was in his capital, while the Chola laid siege to the city, which is here called Karuvūr in the colophon. While the Chola was besieging Karuvūr, the Chēra ruler Āṇḍuvan Śēral showed a provoking non-challance and remained in his capital. There happened to be a poet Muḍamōśiyār by name, who resided in a part of Uraiyūr called Eṇicchēri. While the poet was with the Chēra ruler on the upper terrace of the palace, a big elephant, apparently out of control, rushed into the fort, carrying on its back the Chola king. The poet was anxious naturally that, being brought in as he was, the Chola and his elephant were alike likely to be attacked and the Chola taken prisoner and dealt with according to the exigencies of war by the Chēra. He puts it to the Chēra with consumate delicacy that the Chola on the back of the elephant was not entering the fortress palace to attack it, but is being carried helplessly by the state elephant in *must*, the object of the poet being that the Chola king might come to no harm at the hands of the Chēra king; the commentator explains that the mode of expression requires this meaning that the poet was anxious that the Chola king should come to no harm[115]. It therefore seems clear that the poet, a citizen of Uṛaiyūr, was there with the Chēra king, very likely as the Choḷa agent or ambassador for a particular purpose, as seems very likely perhaps to negotiate a peace between the besieged Chēra and the besieging Chola. The fact that he was a citizen of Uṛaiyūr, and Karūr being near Uṛaiyūr, and not as far out as the West Coast

have been taken advantage of to indicate that the place referred to here is Karuvūr, and places similarly named are all in reference to Trichinopoly Karūr. The latter has been made in consequence the capital of the Chēra. It need hardly be pointed out that the proximity between Vanji and Karūr is certainly no consideration whatever in the matter, as we have already referred to a number of occasions in which these eastern rulers, the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas, had to undertake invasions as far west as the coast of the Arabian Sea, pointing out in particular, the poem 31 where the poet makes it clear that the northern rulers were in great anxiety that the Eastern Chola would go across to the west and turn to the right from the Chēra territory and march northwards *as was not unusual.* It does not seem that the capital of Āṇḍuvan Śēral called Karuvūr, not in the text but in the colophon, could be any other than Vanji-Karūr, the capital of the Chēras, which was laid siege to by this Chola, Perunaṛkiḷḷi, of the crowned head. Vanji, the Chēra capital with the alternative name Karuvūr is Vanji of the West Coast, and not Vanji-Karūr of the Trichinopoly District.

Chera conquest of Kongu—a gradual process

We have now come to the end of the Śangam literature bearing on this particular topic. The Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai perhaps may be held to belong to the latest period of the Śangam, as the names of the most distinguished among the celebrities happen to be mentioned in the work, and the particular patron celebrated in it seems to be one who is otherwise unkown to the Sangam literature as such. We have noted successively a development in Chēra history; which may be described as follows;—We find the Chēras, to begin with, the western power that the Tamil expression Kuḍavarkō or Kuḍavarkōmān, or in more general terms, Kuḍapulavēndar would imply. Their territory extended along the coast region of the Arabian Sea southward of Mangalore to well into the territory of Travancore, although there is nothing that would give us a definite southern limit. We cannot say for certain that the whole of this region was included in the Chēra territory to begin with but it seems to be more or less a number of chieftains of Chēra lienage who ruled over this large extent of territory. One group of them, probably with their capital placed in Vanji as we find it described, gradually expanded northwards to take the whole of the Chēra country on that

side, and bring it under one united rule. This is brought out prominently in the wars between the Chēras and a chieftain known to history by name Nannan, distinguished occasionally as Nannan, the woman killer. He was defeated and killed in battle, and his territory annexed to the Chēra kingdom in its northward expansion. The emerging Chēra state then turns eastward and brings under its control the territory eastwards next across the Ghats. Then begins the contact between the Chēras and Kongu. This latter is conquered and brought under subjection to the rule of the Chēra in two or three stages ending in the final conquest and subjugation of the territory of the Ādikamān of Tagaḍur, which territory generally came to be known in the period immediately following as North Kongu. Almost simultaneously with this advance, the Chēras intervene effectively in the struggles among the other chieftains living to the eastward of their territory, and, without much campaigning of their own, they acquire the territory described as Kollik-kūṟṟam, thus bringing under their authority all the Kongu northward of the river Kaveri, the whole of which in later history came to be termed North Kongu. Even before we reach this stage, the Chēras had to intervene in the affairs of the Cholas, and had to fight a battle even at the very gates of the Chola capital, Uṟaiyur, to put an end to a devastating civil war destructive to the prosperity of the Chola kingdom. This together with the overthrow of the chieftain Paḷaiyan Māran of Mōhur brings us to the greatest expansion of the Chēra territory outside the region of the West Coast, and establishing, as it were, the hegemony of the Chēras in the Tamil land. Throughout all this period, we do not hear either of the Pallavas of Kanchi as yet, and the state of things indicated would perhaps show clearly that we are still in the period which might well be described as the pre-Pallava period of South Indian History.

Kongu still a separate division; Karur its capital

The gradual expansion of the Chēra authority eastwards into Kongo and its complete assertion at the end of this period naturally brings the Chēras into contact, or rather closer contact than before, with the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas. We find more than one reference; in the course of the campaigns which the successive Chēras had to undertake against the Adikamān chieftains of Kongu, that the two other

kings than the Chēras rendering him assistance and getting defeated. It therefore shows clearly that the advance of the Chēras eastwards was not looked upon with indifference by the Cholas or the Pāṇḍyas, and the Chēras had to maintain their position by fighting against both of them, and perhaps fighting pretty often. We have indications of this state of things in some of the Sangam poems themselves. Kolli now assumes a prominence that it had not before; the frontier near Kolli or the frontier towards Kolli must necessarily therefore have become important as well. It probably is this state of things that actually brings Karūr of Kongu, that is the modern Karur in the Trichinopoly District into very considerable importance, as the chief frontier town of the territory under the authority of the Chēras, and set advantageously over against the frontiers both of the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas. It would naturally assume importance and might be something like a second headquarters of the Chēra kingdom. It should be nothing very strange if that should have been regarded as an alternative capital as the name Vanji was actually given to it. It must however be said that we have no reference of a specific character which would enable us unmistakably to state that this town Karūr had the name Vanji in any of the passages of the 'Sangam literature as such. The name Ān-Porundam for the river would to some extent connect itself with this name for the town. Karūr is known to the Sanskritists as Vanjuḷāraṇyam, the forest of the cane reed, which becomes also the sacred tree or plant of the locality. The great 'Siva temple there is Ānilai or Tiru-ānilai. One cannot be certain whether the Ān-Porundam for the river could not have arisen because of this name for the holy place. In the large number of inscriptions that have come down to us from Kongu we do not find the name Vanji as associated with it while it is possible it had the name Vanji, because of Vanjuḷāraṇyam. A large number of colophons of the 'Sangam poems happen to mention Karūr. In a number of cases, this name is applied to the city associated with the patron celebrated ; but, in a large number of cases, the word Karūr is used in front of the name of the author, indicating that the author came from the place Karūr. While it is probable that in the latter case, the name stands actually for the town of Karur in the Trichinopoly District wherefrom these authors might have come, the name where it is otherwise associated, will have to be regarded as distinct from this and interpreted as such. Whatever it is, these

facts will have to be borne in mind in interpreting any passage where the term Karuvūr occurs in this class of literature, and we cannot regard it as a substitute for Vanji and used as such to apply to the town, the interior town, now in the Trichinopoly District, without a very satisfactorily critical examination of the actual context, and the circumstances of the occurrence of the name. The advent of the Pallavas into the region of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and the establishment of the Pallava kings there as South Indian rulers probably had a prelude in the shape of a movement of a people from across the northern border of the Tamil land into the territory of the Tamils which upset the existing order. It seems to be what the later inscriptions refer to as the Kaḷabhra irruption into the Tamil country. It is that probably that is responsible for the unsettlement of the order that we are able to project from the 'Sangam literature for the Tamil country. The Chola kingdom seems to have suffered the worst, the Pāṇḍya kingdom suffers an eclipse, and after some considerable time, it may be a few generations, the Pāṇḍya kingdom emerges into something like its previous position, and when it does so, we find the Pallava established as a power in Kanchi, and Tamil India has now to be distributed among the previous southern powers and the Pallavas. In the next few generations following, we find the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas developing a rivalry, and, in the wars between them, Kongu figures as a distinct political entity even apart from its having continued to be a distinct geographical entity that it always was. Even after this period of South Indian History, it naturally shows itself to be a different division of the land among the ruling powers concerned. During this period we find the Adikamān still the recalcitrant chieftain grown in power, perhaps somewhat overgrown, calling for the intervention of a powerful Pāṇḍya from the south. Having overthrown this Adikamān chieftain, this Pāṇḍyan king marched across what had then come to be known as northern Kongu, erected a large temple to Vishṇu at Pērūr, and marching further across, the Pāṇḍya army went down to Koḍungaḷur called Mangaḷūr or Mangaḷapuram, and, taking ship from there, sailed down to land at Viḻiñam and get across Travancore, back into the Pāṇḍya country. This is a clear indication of the existence at this period of Kongu as a separate political entity, the Chēra country being another separate political entity just across the whole width of Kongu towards the West.

Kulasekhara, the Vaishnava Alvar. The Chera Ruler

It is somewhere about this period that we shall have to locate the Āḻvār Kulaśēkhara, a ruler of the Chēra country, who had established something like a hegemony over the Tamil land. Very probably this Kula'sēkhara Āḻvār came before the rise of this new Pāṇḍya dynasty of the inscriptions adverted to above. This Āḻvār, who as ruler was so wholly devoted to Vishṇu that he could not rest content with the rule of the Chēra country even in the period of its ascendency, could attain to satisfaction only when he resigned all earthly glory to devote himself to the worship of Ranganātha at Śrīrangam. He is described generally as the king of the Chēras, as king of the Villavar, which is only another name for Chēra, as the ruler of Kolli, etc. In the Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi included in the Prabandham Four Thousand of the Vaishṇavas he has ten groups of poems which of course, in common with the whole of the Prabandham, is divided into groups of ten or eleven stanzas, each. He calls himself in the course of these poems, ruler not only of his own native capital of the Chēras, but also as ruler or guardian of Kolli, as the ruler of Kūḍal and as the king of Kōḻi. The latter two terms in this group stand for Uṛaiyūr (Kōḻi) and Madura (Kūḍal). But what is the term Kolli here? Of course, the natural suggestion would be Kollimalais. But is it what is referred to here, and does it not look very like the capital of the third kingdom of Tamil India, say the Chēra capital? Before giving an answer to that, we shall have to note that, at the end of the next group, he calls himself Kongarkōmān, the king of Kongu. In the concluding stanza of the sixth group, he calls himself the king of *Kollinakar*, the city of Kolli, and thereby indicates that the Kolli of the previous reference cannot be to the Kollimalais, and must be to the Kolli city. In this very same stanza, he calls himself also the king of Kūḍal. The commentator here, the much respected Vaishṇava Āchārya, Periyavācchān Piḷḷai, renders *Kolli* as the capital of the Chola (as *Soḻan Paḍaiviḍu*). At the same time, he calls Kūḍal as the capital of the Pāṇḍyan. So to him Kolli would be the capital of the Cholas. It is far from clear why he should call Kolli the capital of the Cholas, whereas Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār himself calls the chola capital by name Kōḻi, which is a well known name of Uṛaiyūr. In the concluding stanza of the 9th section, this Āḻvār calls himself again Kōḻiyarkōn. In the concluding 10th also, the closing

stanza describes him as Kōḷiyarkōn. There is thus no doubt that he describes himself the ruler of the three well known Tamil kingdoms and mentions their capitals in succession. We are nevertheless left in doubt as to what Kolli or Kollinakar is. Since the commentator uses the term Paḍaivīḍu in the sense of capital, his sole notion seems to be that Kolli was the Chola capital. We have not been able to get any reference to the Chola capital, Uṛaiyūr at this period, having had an alternative name Kolli. Kolli seems however to be an alternative name of Vanji-Karūr or Tiruvanjikuḷam in the Chēra country, where Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār is said to have been born. If that is so, Kollikavālan or Kollinakar Kāvalan would simply mean the king of the Chēras, whose capital might have had the name Kolli. While the Vaishṇava Āchārya, Vēdāntadēśika states it categorically that Kulaśēkhara was born in Vanjikuḷam, the Guruparampara of the Tṛtīya Brahmatantrasvāmi, who came two or three generations following Vēdānta Dēśika, gives the alternative Tiruvanjikuḷam, otherwise called Kollinakar, while the Ārāyiraypaḍi Guruparampara of Pinbaḷahiya Perumāl Jīyar is content with stating that Kulaśekhāra was born in the Paḍaivīḍu or capital of Kollinakar. It seems therefore presumable that the Chēra capital Vanji or Vanjikuḷam had an alternative name Kollinakar, the city of Kolli, as in fact it was sometimes known by the name Makōdaipaṭṭinam, perhaps applicable to the port of Muziris. Except that he calls himself the Chēra ruler often in the course of his Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi, we have nothing to locate him exactly in the Chēra genealogy except of course some Guruparampara account giving the name Driḍavratha, as the name of the father which does not lead us very far as to any possible association with the known Chēras of Tamil literature. But that the Chēra country continued to be in existence as a kingdom, and that it had a succession of Chēra rulers may perhaps be taken as fact as there is nothing of a definite piece of evidence to contradict it. There is nothing at any rate in what is known of this Āḷvār Kulaśēkhara, who describes himself as a sovereign who had the hegemony of the Tamil land, as having had his capital in Kongu-Karuvūr, as at least in one place (stanza 9, 3rd Tirumoḷi) he calls himself Kongar Kōmān. He therefore was not different in any respect from the previous Chēra rulers in regard to this particular. Kongu remained a distinct entity, although it was under Chēra rule for the time. Kulaśēkhara makes no reference whatever to the Pallavas

and may have to be allotted to a period of time anterior to the establishment of the Pallava power in any authority in the region of Kanchi.

Cheraman Perumal Nayanar and Sekkilar

Another literary celebrity in Tamil happens to be a Chēra ruler, and comes from the Chēra country directly. His life story, as incorporated in the Periyapurāṇam, and what his contemporary friend and preceptor, the saint Sundaramūrti Nāyanār has to say of him may throw some little light upon this question of the Chēra country and Vanji. If the story of the Periyapurāṇam is to be accepted, he was born in the West Coast country, and probably of the ruling family of the Chēras, though perhaps not in the direct line of succession to the throne. He was elected to the throne, and while carrying on the administration, became intensely attracted to the Ṡaivism of the Nāyanmārs, and came into happy contact with the contemporary saint Sundaramūrti on the occasion of his visit to Chidambaram, the holy of holies of the Ṡaivas. Without going into his history which is not exactly to our purpose, it is clear from what is said of him in the Periyapurāṇam that his royal headquarters were in the West Coast city generally called Vanji. It must however be noticed that in the Periyapurāṇam account, and, to the writer of the Periyapurāṇam, this West Coast city could indifferently be called Vanji, Makōdai and Anjaikkaḷam. But then he seems to make also a distinction between names which we cannot overlook. At the outset of the Purāṇam or story of Cheramān Perumāḷ, the account begins with the old Malaināḍu into which the city of old reputation was Tiru-Anjaikkaḷam, and the city of the Rajas is again the old city of Koḍungōḷūr. This initial statement in regard to these get repeated time and again. In a later stanza, the alternative name is given to the whole city as the Makōdai, of the Kōḷai kings, that is, the Chēra kings. His native name is given as Perumākkōdai, which would merely mean the great Chēra, like the classical Tamil term Peruṁ Ṡēral, and he is said to have been devoted early to the deity at Tiruvanjaikaḷam. On his first journey towards the east, he is specifically declared to have started from the interior of the broad city of Vanji (*Vanjiyakanagar*). He is said to have gone to Anjaikkaḷam and worshipped his patron deity there before leaving. He is distinctly stated to have crossed the territory of Kongunāḍu in the initial stages of his journey, so that to Sēkkiḷār who wrote the

account, these details stand clear. The peculiar title Vānavaramban of the Chēras is also used in this account by Śēkkiḻār, which may indicate that he was acquainted with the older Tamil literature, and hence the acquaintance with this name which was one of those with which the Tamil classical writers were familiar. These details are repeated in the last portion of the Periyapurāṇam which deals with the ascent to heaven on the back of the heaven-sent white elephant of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, the Chēra following him upon his horse. We find the three names occur, Vanji, where he started at the head of his army to go and receive his friend, the saint. Sundaramūrti's entering into the city is described as his entry into Makōdai of ancient walls. Going to worship Śiva, the two are said to have approached Anjaikkaḷam (stanzas 22, 27 and 28 respectively). Apart from Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the writer of the Periyapurāṇam is in no doubt that the Chēramān Perumāḷ's territory was on the West Coast, his capital city went by the general name Vanji, of which Koḍungōḷur was an important part. It was called Makōdai also, of which Tiru-anjaikkalam, a Śiva holy place, was a part.

Kongu, distinct from the Chera in the Periyapuranam

Coming down to the Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār Purāṇam of his friend and teacher Sundaramurti Nāyanār, the Śiva shrine is described uniformly as Anjaikkaḷam. The Perumāḷ's father is in residence in Anjaikkaḷam in the outer groves of Makōdai situated on the seashore, the waves of the sea lashing the shore with its waters carrying dextral conches. This forms the refrain more or less completely of the ten stanzas of the poem. But the stanza 7 of this group goes a little further and states it clearly that Anjaikkaḷam of Mākōdai was on the shore of the sea, to which ships laden with all kinds of wealth came pushing their way up to the shore, which is fairly reminiscent of the poems already referred to of Kāṭṭur Tāyankaṇṇan in Aham 146 and Paraṇar in poem 343 of Puṛam. Sundaramūrti and Chēramānperumāḷ both of them lived in the 8th century and the Chēra or the Kēraḷa era of A.D. 825 refers to what is called *Kollam Āṇḍu* even now. This era of Kollam perhaps is reminiscent of Kollinagar as the alternative name to Vanji we noted already in connection with Āḷvār Kulaśēkhara. The information that the Periyapurāṇam furnishes may be valid for the time

of its author Ṡēkiḷār, that is, the 11th or 12th century A.D. while what we may glean from the Tēvāram itself of Sundaramūrti Nāyaṇār would refer to the early 9th century more or less. Sundaramūrti Nāyanār's reference to the capital of Chēramān Perumāḷ makes it quite clear that it was called Mākōdai. It was a sea port town to which ships laden with treasure of all kinds pushed their way up to the port. Of this city, Anjaikkaḷam formed a part which contained the Ṡiva shrine. Ṡēkkiḷār, the author of the Periyapurāṇam who came three centuries after and wrote his Purāṇam from information which he is said to have carefully collected, contains such information as was accessible to him at the time. He must however be given the credit for having collected such information with sedulous care as he undertook the task as a holy obligation and a pious duty. To him Anjaikkaḷam, Makōdai, Koḍungoḷūr and Vanji, were all of them names of the capital. The name of the family to which the king belonged is generally Chēra or Poṛaiyan. Sometimes the term Kēraḷa also occurs. Among the titles by which Chēramān Perumāḷ is referred to happens to be a title like Vānavaramban, which perhaps is not quite so familiar as the other names. But Ṡekkiḷār's reference is to the dynasty of Vānavaramban. There is no mistaking that he is referring to the rulers of the Chēra family. In the course of the story and in describing the two journeys and back both by Chēramān Perumāḷ and Sundaramūrti himself, he is very clear in locating the Kēraḷa or the Chēra country between the Ghats and the sea, and mentions very clearly the Kongunāḍu, the Kongu country across the Ghats, through which the pious pilgrims are made to pass. Taking the distinct reference of Sundaramūrti Nāyanār himself we find that his description of Mākōdai is quite reminiscent of the description of Paraṇār as well as Kāṭṭūr Tāyaṁkaṇṇan. That Mākodai was as important as the royal city itself is borne out by the classical reference in the poem of Nakkīrar quoted above, where he speaks of the siege of Muṡiri by the Pānḍya and the recovery of a statue or something like it, from there. Though the Periyapurāṇam is comparatively late, its evidence has an important bearing upon the question and amounts to this. Vanji, Koḍungōḷur, Mākodai, and Tiruvanjikkuḷam all of them are names, either of the whole city or parts of it, and it could be called by any one of the names without the hearer misunderstanding it. It must

be noticed however that the name Karūr does not figure in it at all. But in thus naming Śēkkiḻār makes the distinction clear. Mākōdai is the port, a large and important suburb it may be of the capital city. Anjaikkaḷam, as he calls it, along with the Tevāram hymner Sundaramūrti, is the place where the Śiva temple is located. Then Koḍungōḷur is spoken of as a distinct name as well, but referring to a part of the city, and Vanji is specifically referred to as a fortress city, which we should interpret as the name of the main city. The importance of these distinctions we shall come to a little later. But so far as the general description available from these literary scurces is concerned, the evidence is uniform that the kingdom of the Chēra, the Chēra country proper, was on the West Coast and generally confined to the region between the Western Ghats and the sea. It was more or less extensive even along this coast, according to the vicissitudes of history. The Chēra expansion took the character of coastal expansion first, which does not directly concern us, and expansion into the Kongu country follows till in the period of the Chēras of the classical poems, the whole of Kongu had been brought under the authority of the Chēras. The fact of this extension of Chēra authority provides a new cause of war among the three kings of the south; and in the next stage, we find the Chēra fighting constantly against the recalcitrant sub-king, Adikamān of Takaḍur, who often gets the assistance of the Chola and the Pāndya monarchs for the time being. Then later when the Pallavas had established themselves firmly as a power aspiring to hegemony over the Tamil land, we find the Adikamān assisted by the great Pallava, Nandivarman Pallava Malla, pitted against the Pānḍya, Tērmāran, who defeats the allies at Adikamān's capital, and marches across Kongu to the port of Mangaḷūr called here Mangaḷapuram, the name for Koḍungōḷūr without a doubt, wherefrom he takes ship to sail down to his own port of Viḻiñam to get across to his headquarters. This achievement of the Pānḍya army gives us indication of the existence of Kongu as a separate political entity, and locates the Chēra headquarters territory in the coast region.

History confirms literature in this matter

Leaving literature aside now, the political condition of South India generally following the age of the Śangam is somewhat like this. The advent of the Pallavas seems to be preceded by a popular

movement which upsets the political order in South India, and almost extinguishes the kingdom of the Cholas reducing that of the Pāṇḍyas to a complete eclipse for a few generations. When the Pāṇḍyas emerge—we have no definite information that the Cholas did so at all—we find the Pallavas established in full power at Kanchi. One of the early achievements of these Pallavas, according to their own inscriptions, is the conquest of the Chola kingdom which perhaps accounts for the disppearance of the Cholas as a power, although the name Chola does occur along with that of the Pāṇḍya in several of these campaigns. Throughout the period of the struggle between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas lasting two or three generations, the condition of South India remains the same, and the region of Kongu has often to figure as in the case described above. The Chēra country remained unaffected and safe because of this interposition of Kongu between it and the other struggling powers. When the Pallava ascendency in its turn came to an end as a result of the unremitting struggle maintained by the Pāṇḍyas, and just when the Cholas emerge into a prominent position, we find the first Chola, to achieve the independence of the Cholas and establish a Chola kingdom, had to conquer Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, the Pallava country proper. The next conquest of his is described as Kongu, which he is definitely said to have brought under his authority. Naturally this Chola expansion would take them next towards the Chēra territory. The Chēras do figure in the early history of the Cholas, but oftentimes as allies, having entered into marriage relations with the Chola family. Not only that. Apparently along with these Chēra princesses, went also a certain number of other people, perhaps relations who held important positions in the Chola administration. Some of these get to be described in the Chola inscriptions *Koḍungoḷūrān*, a resident or inhabitant of Koḍungōḷūr, which perhaps was the name by which the Chēra capital was in those days familiarly known. When Rājarāja attempted the conquest of the Chēṛa, he had to march towards this region, and, after two campaigns, brought the Chēras into his imperial system. The coast region of the south including a very considerable part of what is now Travancore territory, stopping short just a little way south of Trivandrum along the coast and perhaps coming farther north in the interior region, became Pāṇḍya territory, and in the wars of the rising Chola power against the Pāṇḍyas we find the western ports of South Travancore figuring

in a large number of naval engagements repeating the position more or less of what we find described in regard to Arikēsari Pāṇḍya, whose achievements are described in great elaboration in the work Pāṇḍikkōvai, recently published, which forms the bulk of the illustrative stanzas in the commentary on the Kaḷaviyal; the illustrations given in this commentary of Nīlakanṭan of Muśiri are mostly from this work, where the illustrations are not from the Sangam classics. So, from the period of the Pāṇḍya ascendency this seems to have been the case. The Chēra country, even in the latter half of the period we have been dealing with, is confined to the northern part of the coast region, and it is in the centuries following that Vēṇāḍ emerges into importance, a period with which we are not concerned for the present. The capital of the Chēras must have continued at Vanji, perhaps more popularly called Koḍungōḷūr now-a-days; but since the Periyapurāṇam notes the other names as well, we are not quite entitled to say that names like Vanji, Mākōdai, etc., had gone out of use altogether. The Chēra capital Vanji therefore, the West Coast sea-port, had a continuous existence from the beginning of the Christian era right down to the 12th century.

Conclusions to which the above discussion leads

We may now conclude with a survey of the position of Vanji and its archaeology resulting from all that is said above. Vanji was like other capital cities a fortified city, fortified on the recognised principles of fortified capitals of Indian kingdoms. Besides the fortified town with its own appurtenances, in the shape of buildings and so on, we have mention of other features connected with this capital town. In one connection or another, we have come upon an important sea-port very near the mouth of the Periyār, and intimately connected with the capital city. This is what is called in the Tamil classics Muśiri, popularly Muyiri or Mākōdai. Now it is also called by the name Makōdai or Mahōdayapaṭṭinam in later literature as also in the Jewish grants. This answers exactly to the Muziris of the classical geographers. Therefore Vanji had an adjunct of a sea-port placed conveniently for approach from the sea naturally which cannot be altogether far away from the capital city itself. The location of this Muśiri or Muyirikkōḍu at what is called Aḻikkōḍu in modern times does not seem improbable, and Aḻikkōḍu seems derivable from the Aḻimukham which the classical

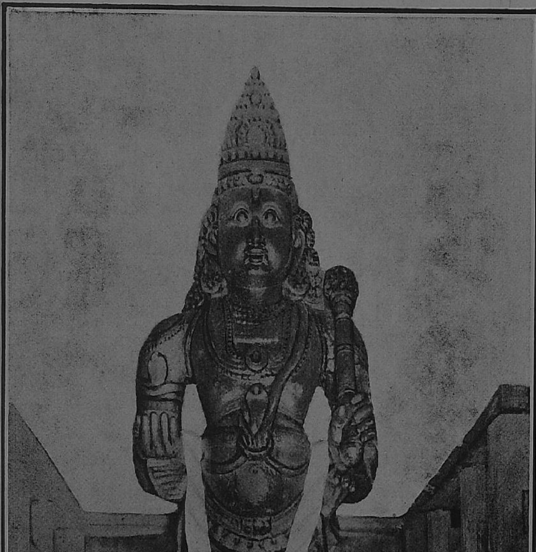

Image of Kshetrapala: *Sadukkappudam* (in Tamil)

geographers translated as Pseudosthomas, or false mouth, of the Periyār. It is now about two to two and a half miles rather to the south-east of where Kodungōḷūr is at present. Proceeding therefrom towards Koḍungōḷūr we come upon the Saiva holy place of what the Tēvāram hymns call Anjaikkaḷam, but more popularly called Vanjikuḷam. This consists of the temple merely now, which contains not merely the images one finds in Siva temples, but also metallic representations of the two friends, the Chēra monarch Saint Chēramān Perumāḷ and the Tamilian Brahman saint Sundaramūrti Nāyanār. The structure of the temple is Dravidian in point of character and some of the institutions connected with the worship in it seem also reminiscent of Dravidian customs. It would be difficult to affirm, on the evidence at present available that that was the Śiva temple to which Śenguṭṭuvan went as he started at the head of his army on his invasion of Northern India and where, according to the Śilappadikāram, he received the blessings and the divine gifts of God before he started on the invasion. While there is nothing to prevent there having been a Śiva shrine there, which the name Mahādēvarpaṭṭinam given to it may perhaps justify, we cannot be sure that the temple as it is, is the temple referred to, in the Śilappadikāram. It is just possible that there was a rather big Śiva temple on the site such as is described in the Śilappadikāram, or in the near vicinity. Then we have to come to the feature of Koḍungōḷūr, which, in its origin, was nothing more than the temple built to commemorate the martyrdom of Kaṇṇaki, and may well have been a hamlet containing the temple, and it may be the other appurtenances, such as a few residential houses and so on connected with the temple. Not far from it, or rather close to it, is the temple of a pretty large statue of Kshētrapāla, as the image is called, now. The Śilappadikāram mentions both Śenguṭṭuvan and some one of his ancestors having brought to the Chēra capital, the *Śadukkappūdam*, the Bhūta of the Chatushka or public square. We cannot mark out the square at present, but the image is there which may be the image of the Bhūta. The achievement of the building of a temple and instituting a festival to that Bhūta is also ascribed to one of the later Chēras in the Padiṟṟuppattu. These would generally be features which would have to be more or less outside the boundaries of the town proper. It may well be out of the fortified part of the city. A capital city, or a royal city usually, consisted of a fortified part and a part of the

town lying outside the fortifications, containing really the various classes of inhabitants outside the city walls—other than those within the fortified city itself. The ordinary location for a Śiva temple is in the south-east of the city, as near as may be to it, but outside the actual boundary, though not necessarily in all cases. A temple like that of the martyr heroine Kaṇṇaki here ought to be on the southern, or rather, south-western side. This Koḍungōḷūr temple would perhaps answer more or less accurately to that description. The Bhūta and its temple must be at the public square, and this public square may be perhaps outside the fort. In the Chola capital of Puhār in which there was this *Ṡadukkapūdam*, it occupied the square between the two distinct parts of the city of Puhār, namely, Paṭṭinappākkam and Maruvūrppākkam. It is beyond these that we shall have to look for the capital town of Vanji. It would mean about 2½ to 3 miles from the mouth of the Periyār, with the sea port of Muśiri very near its mouth. The fact that Vanji had an alternative name Karūr, also would give indication of where to look for its location. The present-day backwater we cannot be certain existed at the time about which we are writing. But there are parts to the eastern side of the backwater which seem referrable as parts of the town of Vanji, which may be the outer parts. For a specific indication, if we take what the Malaiyāḷis now-a-days call Trikaṇa-matilakam as the equivalent of the Kuṇavāyil of the Śilappadikāram, that would mark more or less the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress. It need not be exactly the middle although usually it would be that. On the map we are publishing here adapted as it is from a map of the commencement of the 19th century there appears a name of a village Chengunnūr, about a mile or a mile and a half from this towards the east. In the east gate of Kuṇavāyil, Iḷangō Aḍikaḷ lived in the Koṭṭam, one, it may be, among a number of buildings, in the outer grove of the fort, intended for the residence of various kinds and classes of people who wanted a quiet life. This Śengunnu just outside of it would suit admirably for the Śenguṉṟu to which the hill Kuravars came and told him the tale of Kṇṇaki's apotheosis. This location would suit admirably as in the little town, now-a-days called Karuva-Paḍañña, not very far from this, there is a small temple with a comparatively small hill behind it of the red *laterite* of the locality. A śenguṉṟu here therefore would be one of many such. But we are here concerned with Ilangō Aḍikaḷ ordinarily resident in a

building near the east gate being visited by these hill Kuravars. Taking therefore the Kuṇavāyil as Trikaṇā-Matiḷakam, as it is called, as a known point now, we can peg out the area of the fortress on a tolerably correct estimate of its size and distance from what we know of it. The fort would normally have occupied all the land between the present-day backwater and the modern coast road, as we are told that the Chēra army marched out that way on the great invasion of Ṣenguṭṭuvan Chēra, and that is alluded to in another poem of the Puṟanānūṟu to which we made reference already. So between the road and the present-day backwater, a little more or less, would mark out the width of the fortress city of Vanji. We find the southern limit at the temple of Koḍungōḷūr and the Bhūta square to be brief. The northern limit may be some distance, say a couple of miles to the north of it. Within these limits, the fortified city must have been situate. The fortified city proper would then have occupied what the Malaiyāḷis usually call *puduvaippu*, that is, land that had become newly habitable. As a matter of fact, the whole ground on this side of the backwater there is of the red *laterite* soil, while the land on the other bank of the backwater is sandy. *Vaippu* in classical Tamil usually means the houses and buildings that constitute a town or a village. Therefore it would mean here a built city. There could be other buildings outside the fort, the summer houses for royalty, residences of distinguished people and other buildings of a similar character. We find mention of one such, something like a big summer house, where Ṣenguṭṭuvan ordered that the great sacrifice which, under the advice of Māḍalan, he had undertaken to celebrate may be properly celebrated. This is called in the Ṣilappadikāram Vēḷāvikkō-Māḍam, which would simply mean the terraced mansion of the Vēḷ or chief, who went by the name Āvikkō. We have in the Padiṟṟuppattu three instances of Chēra queens, daughters of Vēl-Āvikkōmān. That would mean this family was a distinguished family, at least one among the distinguished families, wherefrom the royal consorts were chosen, as of course, Malabar sovereigns do even now. So whether it be called Vēlāvikko Māḷikai or Vēlavikkōmāḍam, it has reference to the garden-palace, it may be of this noble family. It is possible they had their residential houses within the fortified city, and the summer house was taken up for the purpose of the celebration of the great sacrifice by the monarch. There is now a place with a name reminiscent of

this Vēl-Āvikkō Māḍam across the backwater which would suit admirably the purpose for which it was temporarily dedicated by the Chēra monarch Śenguṭṭuvan. If therefore carefully planned excavations could be carried out in this area, it is just possible that vestiges turn up which would throw light upon the whole question, and may help to settle once for all this question and put it altogether beyond doubt. For the one possible feature, we may mention what has come in for prominent attention even in this paper, the Hāṭakamāḍam, or the golden hall, in which there was the lying image of Vishṇu-Padmanābhā. It must have been a temple of respectable size in the Hāṭakamāḍam, that is, the residential part of the palace of the Chēras, and the discovery of the principal image itself, or something else of a distinct character connected with it, would put the matter beyond doubt. The Archaeological Department of Cochin may take it up, as they have already taken up some excavation at the place called Chēramānparamba near the temple at Vanjikkuḷam. We commend this to the authorities of Cochin.

Appendix: Tamil Texts

1\. (*a*) கீழ்த்திசை வாயிற் கணவனொடு புகுந்தேன்
மேற்றிசை வாயில் வறியேன் பெயர்கென
விரவும் பகலு மயங்கினள் கையற்
றரவுநீர் வையை யொருகரைக் கொண்டாங்
கவல வென்னா ளவலித் திழிதலின்
மிசைய வென்னாண் மிசைவைத் தேறலிற்
கடல்வயிறு கிழித்து மலைநெஞ்சு பிளந்தாங்
கவுணரைக் கடந்த சுடரிலை நெடுவே
னெடுவேற் குன்ற மடிவைத் தேறிப்
பூத்த வேங்கைப் பொங்கர்க் கீழோர்
தீத்தொழி லாட்டியேன் யானென்று.

Śil. xxiii. 182–192.

(*b*) நிறங்கிள ரருவிப் பறம்பின் றாழ்வரை
நறுஞ்சினை வேங்கை நன்னிழற் கீழ்.

Ibid. xxiv. 13–14.

2\. (*a*) ஒருநூற்று நாற்பதி யோசனை விரிந்த.

Śil. xxv. 15.

(*b*) நெடியோன் மார்பி லாரம் போன்று
பெருமலை விலங்கிய பேரியாற் றடைகரை
யிடுமண லெக்க ரியைந்தொருங் கிருப்பக்.

Ibid. 21–23.

3\. மண்களி நெடுவேன் மன்னவற் கண்டு
கண்களி மயக்கத்துக் காதலோ டிருந்த
தண்டமி ழாசான் சாத்தனிஃ துரைக்கும்.

Ibid. 64–66.

4\. மழைவளங் கரப்பின் வான்பே ரச்சம்
பிழையுயி ரெய்திற் பெரும்பே ரச்சங்
குடிபுர வுண்டுங் கொடுங்கோ லஞ்சி
மன்பதை காக்கு நன்குடிப் பிறத்த
றுன்ப மல்லது தொழுதக வில்லென.

Ibid. 100–103.

5\. காதலன் றுன்பங் காணாது கழிந்த
மாதரோ பெருந்திரு வுறுக வானகத்
தத்திற நிற்கநம் மகநாட் டடைந்தவிப்
பத்தினிக் கடவுளைப் பரசல் வேண்டுமென.

Ibid. 111–14.

6\. passage in note. (*a*)

7\. do. (*b*)

8\. do. 5.

9. நும்போல் வேந்தர் நும்மோ டிகலிக்
கொங்கர்செங் களத்துக் கொடுவரிக் கயற்கொடி
பகைப்புறத் துத் தந்தன ராயினு மாங்கவை
திசைமுக வேழத்தின் செவியகம் புக்கன
கொங்கணர் கலிங்கர் கொடுங்கரு நாடர்
பங்களர் கங்கர் பல்வேற் கட்டியர்
வடவா ரியரொடு வண்டமிழ் மயக்கத்துன்
கடமலை வேட்டமென் கட்புலம் பிரியாது.

Ibid. 152–9.

10. குணவாயிற் கோட்டத் தரசுதுறந் திருந்த
குடக்கோச் சேர லிளங்கோ வடிகள்.

Śil. Padikam. ll. 1–2.

11. வில்லெழுதிய விமயத்தோடு
கொல்லி யாண்ட குடவர் கோவே.

Śil. xxiv. last couplet.

12. . . . . கோவலன் மனைவி
குடவர் கோவே நின்னாடு புகுந்தது.

Śil. xxvii. l. 64.

13. குடதிசை யாளுங் கொற்ற வேந்தன்.

Ibid. 197.

14. குடவர் கோமான் வந்தா னாளை.

Ibid. 227.

15. குடதிசை வாழுங் கொற்றவற் களித்து.

Śil. xxviii. 217.

16. முடியுடை வேந்தர் மூவருள்ளுங்
குடதிசை யாளுங் கொற்றங் குன்றா
வார மார்பிற் சோர்குலம்.

Ibid. xxx. p. 592.

17. பூம்புனற் பழனப் புகார்நகர் வேந்தன்
றாங்கா விளையு ணன்னா டதனுள்
வலவைப் பார்ப்பான் பராசர னென்போன்
குலவுவேற் சேரன் கொடைத்திறங் கேட்டு
வண்டமிழ் மறையோற்கு வானுறை கொடுத்த
திண்டிறல் நெடுவேற் சேரலற் காண்கெனக்
காடு நாடு மூரும் போகி
நீடுநிலை மலையம் பிறபடச் சென்று.

Ibid. xxiii. 59–66.

18. செஞ்சடை வானவ னருளினில் விளங்க
வஞ்சித் தோன்றிய வானவ கேளாய்
மலையத் தேகுதும் வான்பே ரிமய
நிலையத் தேகுத னின்கருத் தாகலி
னருமறை யந்தண ராங்குளர் வாழ்வோர்
பெருநில மன்ன காத்தனின் கடனென்று.

Ibid. xxvi. 98-103.

19. See passage in note. 5.

20. முந்நீரி னுட்புக்கு மூவாக் கடம்பெறிந்தான்
மன்னர்கோச் சேரன் வளவஞ்சி வாழ்வேந்தன்.

Śil. xvii. p. 448.

21. அளந்துகடை யறியா வருங்கலஞ் சுமந்து
வளந்தலை மயங்கிய வஞ்சி முற்றத்து.

Ibid. xxv. 34–5.

22. பூவா வஞ்சிப் பொன்னகர்ப் புறத்தென்
வாய்வாள் மாலை வஞ்சிசூ டுதுமெனப்.

Ibid. 148–49.

23. வாழியரோ வாழி வருபுன னீ ரான்பொருநை
சூழ்தரும் வஞ்சியார் கோமான்றன் றொல்குலமே.

Śil. p. 578.

24. தானவர் தம்மேற் றம்பதி நீங்கும்
வானவன் போல வஞ்சி நீங்கித்
தண்டத் தலைவருந் தலைத்தார்ச் சேனையும்
வெண்டலைப் புணரியின் விளிம்புசூழ் போத
மலைமுதுகு நெளிய நிலைநா டதர்பட
வுலக மன்னவ னொருங்குடன் சென்றங்
காலும் புரவி யணித்தேர்த் தானையொடு
நீல கிரியி னெடும்புறத் திறுத்தாங்கு.

Ibid. xxvi. 78–85.

25. பூந்தண் பொருநைப் பொறையன் வாழி
மாந்தரஞ் சேரன் மன்னவன் வாழ்கென.

Ibid. xxiii. 84–5.

26. தண்ணான் பொருநை யாடுந ரிட்ட
வண்ணமுஞ் சுண்ணமு மலரும் பரந்து
விண்ணுறை விற்போல் விளங்கிய பெருந்துறை

. . . . . .

வில்லவன் வந்தான் வியன்பே ரிமயத்துப்
பல்லா னிரையொடு படர்குவிர் நீரென.

Ibid. xxvii. 231–39.

27. மண்ணாள் வேந்தே நின் வாணாட்க
டண்ணான் பொருநை மணலினுஞ் சிறக்க.

Ibid. xxviii. 125–126.

28. See note 23.

29. முதிர்பூம் பரப்பி னொழுகுபுன லொளித்து
மதுகர ஞிமிறொடு வண்டினம் பாட
நெடி யோன் மார்பி லாரம் போன்று
பெருமலை விலங்கிய பேரியாற் றடைகரை
யிடுமண லெக்க ரியைந்தொருங் கிருப்ப.

Ibid. xxv. 19–23.

30. *The eighth ten and 4th Tirumoḻi.*
வார்கடா வருவி யானைமா மலையின்
மறுப் பிணைக் குவடிறுத் துருட்டி
ஊர்கொள் திண்பாக னுயிர் செகுத்து
அரங்கின் மல்லரைக் கொன்று சூழ்பரண்மேல்
போர் கடா வரசர் புறக்கிட
மாட மீமிசைக் கஞ்சனைத் தகர்த்த
சீர்கொள் சிற்றாயன் திருச்செங் குன்றூரில்
திருச் சிற்றாறு எங்கள் செல்சார்பே.

31. See note 26.

32. கரைபொறு தொழுகுங் காவிரி யாறே
யாற்றிடைக் கிடப்பதோ ரஞ்சன மலையே.

33. பன்மலர் மாலைவேய்ந்து பானுரைப் போர்வை போர்த்து
தென்மலைச் சேர்ந்தசாந்த மான்மதச் சேறுபூசிப்
பொன்மணி யாரந்தாங் கிப்பொருநை யாங்கன்னி
முன்னீர் தன்மகிழ்கிழவ னுகந்தழீக் கொடுகலந்ததன்றே.

34. குணவாயிற் கோட்டத் தரசுதுறந் திருந்த
குடக்கோச் சேர லிளங்கோ வடிகட்குக்.

Śil. : *Padikam.* 1–2.

35. புள்ளணி கழனியும் பொழிலும் பொருந்தி
வெள்ளநீர் ப்பண்ணையும் விரிநீ ரேரியுங்
காய்க்குலைத் தெங்கும் வாழையுங் கமுகும்
வேய்த்திரட் பந்தரும் விளங்கிய விருக்கை
யறம்புரி மாந்த ரன்றிச் சேராப்
புறஞ்சிறை மூதூர் புக்கனர் புரிந்தென.

Śil. : xiii. 191–196.

36. கடுத்துறு கணவற் கண்டபின் னல்ல
திருத்தலு மில்லே னிற்றலு மிலனெனக்
கொற்றவை வாயிற் பொற்றொடி தகர்த்துக்
கீழ்த்திசை வாயிற் கணவனொடு புகுந்தேன்
மேற்றிசை வாயில் வறியேன் பெயர்கென
விரவும் பகலும் மயங்கினள் கையற்
றுரவுநீர் வையை யொருகரைக் கொண்டாங்
கவல வென்னு ளவலித் திழிதலின்
மிசைய வென்னுள் மிசைவைத் தேறலிற்
கடல்வயிறு கிழித்து மலைநெஞ்சு பிளந்தாங்
கவுணரைக் கடந்த சுடரிலை நெடுவே
னெடுவேள் குன்ற மடிவைத் தேறிப்
பூத்த வேங்கைப் பொங்கர்க் கீழோர்
தீத்தொழி லாட்டியேன் யானென் றேங்கி
யெழுநா ளிரட்டி யெல்லை சென்றபின்
றொழுநா ளிதுவெனத் தோன்ற வாழ்த்திப்
பீடுகெழு நங்கை பெரும்பெய ரேத்தி
வாடா மாமலர் மாரி பெய்தாங்கு.

Ibid. xxiii. 179–196.

37. மணமதுரையோ டரசுகேடுற வல்வினைவந் துறுத்தகாலைக்
கணவனையங் கிழந்துபோந்த கடுவினை யேன்யானென்று
ளென்றலு மிறைஞ்சியஞ்சி யிணைவளைக்கை யெதிர்கூப்பி
நின்ற வெல்லையுள் வானவரு நெடுமாரி மலர்பொழிந்து
குன்றவருங் கண்டு நிற்பக் கொழுநனொடு கொண்டுபோயின
ரிவள்போலு நங்குலக்கோ ரிருந்தெய்வ மில்லையாதலிற்
சிறுகுடியீரே சிறுகுடியீரே
தெய்வங் கொள்ளுமின் சிறுகுடியீரே
நிறங்கிள ரருவிப் பறம்பின் றாழ்வரை
நறுஞ்சினை வேங்கை நன்னிழற் கீழோர்
தெய்வங் கொள்ளுமின்.

Ibid. xxiv. 5–15.

38. See note 30.

39. யானைவெண் கோடு மகிலின் குப்பையு
மான்மயிர்க் கவரியும் மதுவின் குடங்களுஞ்
சந்தணக் குறையுஞ் சிந்தூரக் கட்டியு
மஞ்சனத் திரளு மணியரி தாரமு
மேல வல்லியு மிருங்கறி வல்லியுந்
தெங்கின் பழனுந் தேமாங் கனியும்
பைங்கொடிப் படலையும் பலவின் பலங்களுங்
காயமுங் கரும்பும் பூமலி கொடியுங்
கொழுந்தாட் கமுகின் செழுங்குலைத் தாறு
மாளியி னணங்கு மரியின் குருளையும்

வாழ்வரிப் பறழு மதகரிக் களபமுங்
குரங்கின் குட்டியுங் குடாவடி யுளியமும்
வரையாடு வருடையும் மடமான் மறியுங்
காசறைக் கருவு மாசறு நகுலமும்
பீலி மஞ்ஞையு நாவியின் பிள்ளையு
மலைமிசை மாக்க டலைமிசைக் கொண்டாங்
கேழ்பிறப் படியேம் வாழ்கநின் கொற்றம்.

Ibid. xxv. 37–56.

40. படுதிரை சூழ்ந்த பயங்கெழு மாநிலத்
திடைநின் றோங்கிய நெடுநிலை மேருவிற்
கொடிமதின் மூதூர் நடுநின் றோங்கிய
தமனிய மாளிகைப் புனைமணி யரங்கின்
வதுவை வேண்மாண் மங்கல மடந்தை
மதியோர் வண்ணங் காணிய வருவழி.

Ibid. xxviii. 47–52.

41. குடதிசை யாளுங் கொற்ற வேந்தன்
வடதிசைத் தும்பை வாகையொடு முடித்துத்
தென்றிசைப் பெயர்ந்த வென்றித் தானையொடு
நிதிதுஞ்சு வியனகர் நடுநிலை நிவந்து
கதிர்செல வொழித்த **கனக மாளிகை**
முத்து நிரைக் கொடித்தொடர் முழுவது வளைஇய.
சித்திர விதானத்துச் செய்பூங் கைவினை
யிலங்கொளி மணிநிரை யிடையிடை வகுத்த
விலங்கொளி வைரமொடு பொலந்தகடு போகிய
மடையமை செறுவின் வான்பொற் கட்டிற்
புடைதிரத்த மணியப் பொற்காலமளிமிசை
யிணைபுண ரெகினத் திளமயிர் செறித்த
துணையணைப் பள்ளித் துயிலாற்றுப் படுத்தாங்
கெறிந்துகளங் கொண்ட வியறேர்க் கொற்ற
மறிந்துரை பயின்ற வாயச் செவிலியர்
தோட்டுணை துறந்த துயரீங் கொழிகெனப்
பாட்டொடு தொடுத்துப் பல்யாண்டு வாழ்த்தச்
சிறுகுறுங் கூனுங் குறளுஞ் சென்று
பெருகநின் செவ்வி பெருமகன் வந்தா
னறுமலர்க் கூந்தல் நாளணி பெருகென.

Ibid. xxvii. 197–216.

42. வேடகஞ் சேர்ந்த வெங் கானம் விடலைபின் மெல்லடிமேற்
பாடகந் தாங்கி நடந்ததெவ் வாறுகொல் பாழிவென்ற
கோடகநீள் குடிக்கோனெடு மாறன்தென் கூடலின்வா
யாடக மாடங்கடந் தறியாதவென் னணங்கே.

Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ, Sūtra, 23.
(Page 165, Stanza 190 Bhavanandam Pillai's Edn.)

43. See note. 41.

44. ஆடக மாடத் தரவணைக் கிடந்தோன்
சேடக் குடும்பியன் சிறுமக ளீங்குளள்.

Śil. xxx. 51–52.

45. ஆங்கவ டன்னுட னணிமணி யரங்கம்
விங்குநீர் ஞால மாள்வோ னேரித்
திருநிலைச் சேவடிச் சிலம்புவாய் புலம்பவும்
பரிதரு செங்கையிற் படுபறை யார்ப்பவுஞ்
செங்க ணாயிரந் திருக்குறிப் பருளவுஞ்
செஞ்சடை சென்று திசைமுக மலம்பவும்
பாடகம் பதையாது சூடகந் துகளாது
மேகலை யொலியாது மென்முலை யசையாது
வார்குழை யாடாது மணிக்குழ லவிழா
துமைய ளொருதிற னாக வோங்கிய
விமையவ னாடிய கொட்டிச் சேதம்
பாத்தரு நால்வகை மறையோர் பறையூர்க்
கூத்தச் சாக்கைய னாடலின் மகிழ்ந்தவ
னேத்தி நீங்க விருநில மாள்வோன்
வேத்தியல் மண்டப மேவிய பின்னர்.

Ibid. xxvii. 65–79.

46. *See English Text above.*

47. வில்லெழுதிய விமயத்தொடு
கொல்லி யாண்ட குடவர் கோவே.

'*Ibid.* xxiv. last couplet.

48. நும்போல் வேந்தர் நும்மோ டிகலிக்
கொங்கர்செங் களத்துக் கொடுவரிக் கயற்கொடி
பகைப்புறத்துத் தந்தன ராயினும்.

Ibid. xxv. 152–154.

49. குடகக் கொங்கரும் மாளுவ வேந்தருங்
கடல்சூ ழிலங்கைக் கயவாகு வேந்தனும்.

Ibid. xxx. 159–60.

50. . . . . . குறையாக் கேள்வி

மாடல னெழுந்து மன்னவர் மன்னே
வாழ்கநின் கொற்றம் வாழ்கவென் றேத்திக்
கறிவளர் சிலம்பிற் றுஞ்சும் யானையிற்
சிறுகுர னெய்தல் வியலூ ரெறிந்தபி
னார்புனை தெரிய லொன்பது மன்னரை
நேரி வாயி னிலைச்செரு வென்று

நெடுந்தேர்த் தானையொ டிடும்பிற்புறத் திறுத்துக்
கொடும்போர் கடந்து நெடுங்கட லோட்டி
யுடன்றுமேல் வந்த வாரிய மன்னரைக்
கடும்புனற் கங்கைப் பேர்யாற்று வென்றோய்
நெடுந்தார் வேய்ந்த பெரும்படை வேந்தே
புரையோர் தம்மொடு பொருந்த வுணர்ந்து
யரைச ரேறே யமைகநின் சீற்ற
மண்ணாள் வேந்தே நின்வா ணாட்க
டண்ணான் பொருநை மணலினுஞ் சிறக்க
வகழ்கடன் ஞால மாள்வோய் வாழி
யிகழா தென்சொற் கேட்டல் வேண்டும்
வையங் காவல் பூண்டநின் னல்யாண்
டையைந் திரட்டி சென்றதற் பின்னு
மறக்கள வேள்வி செய்யா தியாங்கணு
மறக்கள வேள்வி செய்வோ யாயினை
வேந்துவினை முடித்த வேந்துவாள் வலத்துப்
போந்தைக் கண்ணிநி னூங்கணோர் மருங்கிற்
கடற்கடம் பெறிந்த காவல னாயினும்
விடற்சிலை பொறித்த விறலோ னாயினு
நான்மறை யாளன் செய்யுட் கொண்டு
மேநிலை யுலகம் விடுத்தோ னாயினும்
போற்றி மன்னுயிர் முறையிற் கொள்கெனக்
கூற்றுவரை நிறுத்த கொற்றவ னாயினும்
வன்சொல் யவனர் வளநா டாண்டு
பொன்படு நெடுவரை புகுந்தோ னாயினு
மிகப்பெருந் தானையோ டிருஞ்செரு வோட்டி
யகப்பா வெறிந்த வருந்திற லாயினு
முருகெழு மரபி னயிரை மண்ணி
யிருகட னீரு மாடினோ னாயினுஞ்
சதுக்கப் பூதரை வஞ்சியுட் டந்து
மதுக்கொள் வேள்வி வேட்டோ னாயினு
மீக்கூற் றாளர் யாவரு மின்மையின்
யாக்கை நில்லா தென்பதை யுணர்ந்தோய்
மல்லன்மா ஞாலத்து வாழ்வோர் மருங்கிற்
செல்வ நில்லா தென்பதை வெல்போர்த்
தண்டமி ழிகழ்ந்த வாரிய மன்னரிற்
கண்டனை யல்லையே காவல் வேந்தே
யிளமை நில்லா தென்பதை யெடுத்தீங்
குணர்வுடை மாக்களு ரைக்கல் வேண்டா
திருஞெமி ரகலத்துச் செங்கோல் வேந்தே
நரைமுதிர் யாக்கை நீயுங் கண்டனை
விண்ணோ ருருவி னெய்திய நல்லுயிர்
மண்ணோ ருருவின் மறிக்கினு மறிக்கு

மக்கள் யாக்கை பூண்ட மன்னுயிர்
மிக்கோய் விலங்கி னெய்தினு மெய்தும்
விலங்கின் யாக்கை விலங்கிய வின்னுயிர்
கலங்கஞர் நரகரைக் காணினுங் காணு
மாடுங் கூத்தர்போ லாருயி ரொருவழிக்
கூடிய கோலத் தொருங்குநின் றியலாது
செய்வினை வழித்தா யுயிர்செலு மென்பது
பொய்யில் காட்சியோர் பொருளுரை யாதலி
னெழுமுடி மார்பநீ யேந்திய திகிரி
வழிவழிச் சிறக்க வயவாள் வேந்தே
யரும்பொருட் பரிசிலே னல்லே னியானும்
பெரும்பே ரியாக்கை பெற்ற நல்லுயிர்
மலர்தலை யுலகத் துயிர்போகு பொதுநெறி
புலவரை யிறந்தோய் போகுதல் பொறேஎன்
வானவர் போற்றும் வழிநினக் களிக்கு
நான்மறை மருங்கின் வேள்விப் பார்ப்பா
னருமறை மறுங்கி னரசர்க் கோங்கிய
பெருநல் வேள்வி நீசெயல் வேண்டும்
நாளைச் செய்குவ மறனெனி னின்றே
கேள்வி நல்லுயிர் நீங்கினு நீங்கு
மிதுவென வரைந்து வாழுநா ளுணர்ந்தோர்
முதுநீ ருலகின் முழுவது மில்லை
வேள்விக் கிழத்தி யிவளொடுங் கூடித்
தாழ்கழல் மன்னர் நின்னடி போற்ற
வூழியோ டூழி யுலகங் காத்து
நீடுவா ழியரோ நெடுந்தகை யென்று!

Ibid. xxviii. 111–186.

51. எஞ்சா மண்ணசைஇ யிகலுளந் துறப்ப
வஞ்சியி னிகந்து வஞ்சி சூடி
முறஞ்செவி யானையு ந்தேரு மாவு
மறங்கெழு நெடுவாள் வயவரு மிடைந்த
தலைத்தார்ச் சேனையொடு மலைத்துத் தலைவந்தோர்
சிலைக்கய னெடுங்கொடி செறுவேற் றடக்கை
யார்புனை தெரிய விளங்கோன் றன்னுற்
காரியாற்றுக் கொண்ட காவல் வெண்குடை
வலிகெழு தடக்கை மாவண் கிள்ளி
யொளியொடு வாழி யூழிதோ றூழி.

Maṇimēkhalai xix. 119–128.

52. (*a*) சாவக மன்னன் றன்னு டடைந்தபி
னுங்கத் தீவம்விட் டருந்தவன் வடிவாய்
பூங்கொடி வஞ்சி மாநகர் புகுவை.

Maṇi. xxi. 89–91.

(b) மாசில் மணிபல் லவந்தொழு தேத்தி
வஞ்சியுட் புகுந்து மாபத் தினிதனக்
கெஞ்சா நல்லறம் யாங்கணுஞ் செய்குவல்.

Maṇi. xxiv. 154–156.

53. (a) விரிதிரை வந்து வியனகர் விழுங்க
வொருதனி போயின னுலக மன்னவ
னருந்தவன் றன்னுட னாயிழை தாயரும்
வருந்தா தேகி வஞ்சியுட் புக்கனர்.

Ibid. xxv. 203–6.

(b) மன்பெரு நன்னாடு வாயெடுத் தழைக்கும்
வங்கத் தேகுதி வஞ்சியுட் செல்வனென்
றந்தரத் தெழுந்தன ளணிமேகலையென.

Ibid. 237–39.

54. (a) மையறு சிறப்பிற் றெய்வந் தந்த
மந்திர மோதியோர் மாதவன் வடிவாய்த்
தேவ ருலகமுந் தெற்றியும் பள்ளியும்
பூமலர்ப் பொழிலும் பொய்கையு மிடைந்து
நற்றவ முனிவருங் கற்றடங் கினரு
நன்னெறி காணிய தொன்னூர் புலவரு
மெங்கணும் விளங்கிய **வெயிற்புற** **விருக்கையிற்.**

Ibid. xxii. 70–76.

(b) பொற்கொடிப் பெயர்ப்படூஉம் பொன்னகர்ப் பொலிந்தனள்.

Ibid. 92.

55. (a) நவையறு நாக னல்லறம் பகர்வோ
ருறையும் பள்ளிபுக் கிறைவனை நல்லாற்
கோவலன் றாதை மாதவம் புரிந்தோன்
பாதம் பணிந்து.

Ibid. xxviii. 71–74.

(b) புரிந்த யானிப் பூங்கொடிப் பெயர்ப்படூஉந்
திருந்திய நன்னகர் சேர்ந்தது கேளாய்.

Ibid. 101–102.

(c) கண்டு தொழுதேத்துங் காதலின் வந்தித்
தண்டாக் காட்சித் தவத்தோ ரருளிக்
காவிரிப் பட்டினங் கடல்கொளு மென்றவத்
தூவுரை கேட்டுத் துணிந்திவ ணிருந்தது.

Ibid. 133–36.

56. அருந்தவ னருள வாரிழை வணங்கித்
திருந்திய பாத்திரஞ் செங்கையி னேந்திக்
கொடிமதின் மூதூர்க் குடக்கணின் றோங்கி
வடதிசை மருங்கின் வானத் தியங்கித்

Ibid. 162–165.

57. குணகடல் பின்ன தாகக் குடகடல்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிநின் மான்குளம் பலைப்ப
வலமுறை வருதலு முண்டென் றலம்வந்து
நெஞ்சநடுங் கவலம் பாயத்
துஞ்சாக் கண்ண வடபுலத் தரசே.

Puṛam xxxi. 13–17.

58. எழுமுடி கெழீஇய திருஞெம ரகலத்து
நோன்புரித் தடக்கைச் சான்றோர் மெய்ம்மறை.

Padiṛṛuppattu xiv. 11–12.

59. வயங்குகதிர் வயிரமோ டுறந்துபூண் சுடர்வர
வெழுமுடி கெழீஇய திருஞெமி ரகலத்துப்
புரையோ ருண்கட் டுயிலும் பாயல்.

Ibid. xvi. 16–18.

60. துளங்குபிசி ருடைய மாக்கட னீக்கிக்
கடம்பறுத் தியற்றிய வலம்படு வியன்பணை
யாடுநல் பெயர்ந்துவந் தரும்பலி தூஉய்க்
கடிப்புக் கண்ணுறூஉந் தொடித்தோ ளியவ.

Ibid. xvii. 4–7.

61. . . . . எங்கோ
விருமுன்னீர்த் துருத்தியுண்
முரணியோர்த் தலைச்சென்று
கடம்புமுத றடிந்த கடுஞ்சின முன்பின்
நெடுஞ்சேர லாதன் வாழ்கவவன் கண்ணி.

Ibid. xx. 1–5.

62. *See Text above.*

63. *See Text above.*

64. முல்லைக் கண்ணிப் பல்லான் கோவலர்
புல்லுடை வியன்புலம் பல்லாப் பரப்பிக்
கல்லுயர் கடத்திடைக் கதிர்மணி பெறூஉ
மிதியற் செருப்பிற் பூழியர் கோவே.
. . . . . .

ll. 20–23.

சீருடைத் தேஎத்த முனைகெட விலங்கிய
நேருயர் நெடுவரை யயிரைப் பொருந.

ll. 28–29.

Ibid. poem 21.

65. ஆகெழு கொங்கு நாடகப் படுத்த
வேல்கெழு தானை வெருவரு தோன்றல்.

. . . . . .

ll. 15–16.

நெடுமதி னிரைப்பதணத்
தண்ணலம் பெருங்கோட் டகப்பா வெறிந்த
பொன்புனை யுழிஞை வெல்போர்க் குட்டுவ.

ll. 25–27.

Ibid. poem 22.

66. கோடை நீடக் குன்றம் புல்லென
வருவி யற்ற பெருவறற் காலையு
நிவந்துகரை யிழிதரு நனந்தலைப் பேரியாற்றுச்
சீருடை வியன்புலம் வாய்பரந்து மிகீஇய
ருவலை சூடி யுருத்துவரு மலிர்நிறைச்
செந்நீர்ப் பூசலல்லது.

.

Ibid. poem 28 : ll. 8–13.

67. தெள்ளுயர் வடிமணி யெறியுநர் கல்லென
வுண்ணாப் பைஞ்ஞிலம் பனித்துறை மண்ணி
வண்டூது பொலிதார்த் திருஞெம ரகலத்துக்
கண்பொரு திகிரிக் கமழ்குரற் றுழாஅ
யலங்கற் செல்வன் சேவடி பரவி
நெஞ்சுமலி யுவகையர் துஞ்சுபதிப் பெயர
மணிநிற மையிரு ளகல நிலாவிரிபு
கோடுகூடு மதிய மியலுற் றுருங்குத்
துளங்குகுடி விழுத்திணை திருத்தி முரசுகொண்
டாண்கட னிறுத்தநின் பூண்கிளர் வியன்மார்பு.

Ibid. 31 : 5–14.

68. நெடுமிடல் சாயக் கொடுமிட றுமியப்
பெருமலை யானையொடு புலங்கெட விறுத்து.

Ibid. 32 : ll. 10–11.

69. மையற விளங்கிய வடுவாழ் மார்பின்
வசையில் செல்வ வான வரம்ப.

Ibid. 38 : ll. 11–12.

70. சிலம்பி கோலிய வலங்கற் போர்வையின்

. . . . . .

சீர்மிகு முத்தந் தைஇய
நார்முடிச் சேரனின் போர்நிழற் புகன்றே.

Ibid. 39 ; ll. 13, 16–7.

71. எழுமுடி கெழீஇய திருஞெம ரகலத்துப்
பொன்னங் கண்ணிப் பொலந்தேர் நன்னன்
சுடர்வீ வாகைக் கடிமுத றடிந்த
கார்முக மைந்தி னூர்முடிச் சேரல்
புன்கா லுன்னஞ் சாய்த் தெண்கண்
வறிதுகூட் டரிய விரவலர்த் தடுப்பத்
தான்றர வுண்ட நனைநறவு மகிழ்ந்து
நீரிமிழ் சிலம்பி னேரி யோனே.

Ibid. 40 : ll. 13–20.

72. முரசுடைப் பெருஞ்சமத் தரசுபடக் கடந்து
வெவ்வ ரோச்சம் பெருகத் தெவ்வர்
மிளகெறி யுலக்கையி னிருந்தலை யிடித்து

. . . . . .

19–21.

கடும்பரிப் புரவி யூர்ந்தநின்
படுந்திரைப் பனிக்கட லுழந்த தாளே.

26–7.

Ibid. poem 41.

73. அண்ணல் யானை யடுபோர்க் குட்டுவ

. . . . . .

l. 9.

மாயிருந் தெண்கடன் மலிதிரைப் பெளவத்து
வெண்டலைக் குரூஉப்பிசி ருடையத்
தண்பல வரூஉம் புணரியிற் பலவே.

ll. 21–23.

Ibid. poem 42.

74. போரடு தானைம் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டுவ
விரும்பனை திரங்கப் பெரும்பெய லொளிப்பக்
குன்றுவறங் கூரச் சுடர்சினந் திகழ
வருவி யற்ற பெருவறற் காலையு
மருஞ்செலற் பேரியாற் றிருங்கரை யுடைத்துக்
கடியோர் பூட்டுநர் கடுக்கை மலைய
வரைவி லதிர்சிலை முழங்கிப் பெயல்சிறந்
தார்கலி வானந் தளிசொரிந் தாங்கு.

ll. 11–18.

Ibid. poem 43.

75. நுண்கொடி யுழிஞை வெல்போ ரறுகை
சேண னுயினும் கேளென மொழிந்து
புலம்பெயர்ந் தொளித்த களையாப் பூசற்
கரண்கடா வுறீஇ யணங்குநிகழ்ந் தன்ன

மோகூர் மன்னன் முரசங் கொண்டு
நெடுமொழி பணித்தவன் வேம்புமுத றடிந்து
முரசு செய முரச்சிக் களிறுபல பூட்டி
யொழுகை யுய்த்த கொழுவில் பைந்துணி.

Ibid. 44 : 10–17.

76. பல்செருக் கடந்த கொல்களிற் றியமனைக்
கோடுநரல் பௌவங் கலங்க வேலிட்
டுடைதிரைப் பரப்பிற் படுகட லோட்டிய
வெல்புகழ் குட்டுவர்.

Ibid. 46 : 10–13.

77. (*a*) கெடலரும் பல்புகழ் நிலைஇ நீர்புக்குக்
கடலொ டுழந்த பனித்துறைப் பரதவ

ll. 3–4.

(*b*) நின்மலைப் பிறந்து நின்கடன் மண்டு
மலிபுன ணிகழ்தருந் தீநீர் விழவிற்
பொழில்வதிற் பேரெழில் வாழ்க்கை
மேவரு சுற்றமோ டுண்டினிது நுகருந்
தீம்புன லாய மாடுங்
காஞ்சியம் பெருந்துறை மணலினும் பலவே.

Ibid. poem 48 : 13–18.

78. (*a*) களிறுபரந் தியலக் கடுமா தாங்க
வொளிறுகொடி நுடங்கத் தேர்திரிந்து கொட்ப
வெஃகுதுரந் தெழுதருங் கைகவர் கடுந்தார்
வெல்போர் வேந்தரும் வேளிரு மொன்றுமொழிந்து
மொய்வளஞ் செறுக்கி மொசிந்துவரு மோகூர்
வலம்படு குழூஉநிலை யதிர மண்டி

ll. 4–9.

. . . . . .

(*b*) கருஞ்சினை விறல்வேம் பறுத்த
பெருஞ்சினக் குட்டுவற் கண்டநம் வரற்கே.

ll. 16–17.

Ibid. poem 49.

79. வளங்கெழு சிறப்பி னுலகம் புரைஇச்
செங்குணக் கொழுகுங் கலுழி மலிர்நிறைக்
காவிரி யன்றியும் பூவிரி புனலொரு
மூன்றுடன் கூடிய கூட லனையை.

Ibid. 50 : ll. 4–7.

80. இன்னிசைப் புணரி யிரங்கும் பௌவத்து
நன்கல வெறுக்கை துஞ்சும் பந்தர்க்
கமழுந் தாழைக் கானலம் பெருந்துறைத்
தண்கடற் படப்பை நன்னாட்டுப் பொருந.

. . . . . .

குடவர் கோவே கொடித்தே ரண்ணல்

Ibid. 55 : ll. 3-9.

81. ஏந்தெழி லாகத்துச் சான்றோர் மெய்ம்மறை
வான வரம்ப னென்ப.

Ibid. 58 : ll. 11–12.

82. தொடைமடி களைந்த சிலையுடை மறவர்
பொங்குபிசிர்ப் புணரி மங்குலொடு மயங்கி
வருங்கட லூதையிற் பனிக்குந்
துவ்வா நறவின் சாயினத் தானே.

Ibid. 60 : ll. 9–12.

83. புலர்ந்த சாந்திற் புலரா வீகை
மலர்ந்த மார்பின் மாவண் பாரி
முழவுமண் புலர விரிவ லரிணைய
வாராச் சேட்புலம் படர்ந்தோ னளிக்கென.

Ibid. 61 : ll. 7–10.

84. (a) வாழியாதவாழியபலவே.

l. 21.

(b) கொண்டி மிகைபடத் தண்டமிழ் செறித்துக்
குன்று நிலைதளர்க்கு முருமிற் சீறி
யொருமுற் றிருவ ரோட்டிய வொள்வாட்
செருமிகு தானை வெல்போ ரேயே

. . . . . .

செல்வக் கோவே சேரலர் மருக.

Ibid. 63 : ll. 9–16.

85. (a) வலம்படு முரசின் வாய்வாட் கொற்றத்துப்
பொலம்பூண் வேந்த பலர்தி லம்ம
வறங்கரைந்து வயங்கிய நாவிற் பிறங்கிய
வுரைசால் வேள்வி முடித்த கேள்வி
யந்தண ரருங்கல மேற்ப நிலைபட்
டிருஞ்சே றாடிய மணன்மலி முற்றத்து.

Ibid. 64 : ll. 1-5.

(b) பார்ப்பார்க் கல்லது பணிபறி யலையே.

Ibid. 63 : l. 1.

86. (*a*) கொடுமணம் பட்ட நெடுமொழி யொக்கலொடு
பந்தர்ப் பெயரிய பேரிசை மூதூர்க்
கடனறி மரபிற் கைவல் பாணர்.

Ibid. 67 : ll. 1–3.

(*b*) பறைபண் ணழியும் பாடுசா னெடுவரைக்
கல்லுயர் நேரிப் பொருநன்
செல்வக் கோமாற் பாடினை செலினே.

Ibid. 67 : ll. 21–3.

87. (*a*) தொலையாக் கொள்கைச் சுற்றஞ் சுற்ற
வேள்வியிற் கடவுளருத்தினை கேள்வி
யுயர்நிலை யுலகத் தையரின் புறுத்தினை.

Ibid. 70 : ll. 17–19.

(*b*) முழுமுதன் மீமிசைய கோடுதொறுந் துவன்று
மயிரை நெடுவரை போலத்
தொலையா தாகநீ வாழு நாளே.

Ibid. 70 : ll. 25-27.

88. பூழியர் பெருமபியானைச்
செருமிகு நோன்றாட் செல்வக் கடுங்கோ
வாழி யாத னென்னுந் தெவ்வ
ருயர்குடை பணித்தவண் விடுவார் மாதோ
நெடிதே, நி . . . . . வஞ்சிப் புறமதி லலைக்குங்
கல்லென் பொருநை மணலினு மாங்கட்
பல்லூர் சுற்றிய கழனி
யெல்லாம் விளையு நெல்லினும் பலவே.

Puṛana 387 : ll. 28–34.

89. இவனியா ரென்குவை யாயி னிவனே
புலிநிறக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைய
வெய்கணை கிழித்த பகட்டெழில் மார்பின்
மறலி யன்ன களிற்றுமிசை யோனே
களிறே, மூன்னீர் வழங்கு நாவாய் போலவும்
பன்மீ னாப்பட் டிங்கள் போலவுஞ்
சுறவினத் தன்ன வாளோர் மொய்ப்ப
மரீஇயோ ரறியாது மைந்துபட் டன்றே
நோயில னாகிப் பெயர்கதி லம்ம
பழன மஞ்ஞை யுகுத்த பீலி
கழனி யுழவர் சூட்டொடு தொகுக்குங்
கொழுமீன் விளைந்த கள்ளின்
விழுநீர் வேலி நாடுகிழ வோனே.

Ibid. poem 131.

90. மத்துக்கயி ருடா வைகற்பொழுது நினையூஉ
வான்பயம் வாழ்நர் கழுவு டலைமடங்கப்
பதிபா ழாக வேறுபுலம் படர்ந்து.

Padiṟṟu 71 : ll. 16–18.

91. (a) உரவோ ரெண்ணினு மடவோ ரெண்ணினும்
பிறர்க்குநீ வாயி னல்லது நினக்குப்
பிறருவம மாகா வொருபெரு வேந்தே.

Ibid. 73 : ll. 1–3.

(b) காவிரிமண்டிய சேய்விரி வனப்பிற்
புகார்ச் செல்வ பூழியர் மெய்ம்மறை
கழைவிரிந் தெழுதரு மழைதவழ் நெடுங்கோட்டுக்
கொல்லிப் பொருந கொடித்தேர்ப் பொறைய.

Ibid. 73.

92. (a) கேள்வி கேட்டுப் படிவ மொடியாது
வேள்வி வேட்டனை யுயர்ந்தோ ருவப்ப.

Ibid. 74 : ll. 1–2.

(b) கொடுமணம் பட்ட வினைமா ணருங்கலம்
பந்தர்ப் பயந்த பலர்புகழ் முத்தம்.

Ibid. 74 : ll. 5–6.

(c) . . . . நின்வியின்
முழுதுணர்ந் தொழுக்கு நரைமூ தாளனை
வண்மையு மாண்பும் வளனு மெச்சமுந்
தெய்வமும் யாவதுந் தவமுடை யோர்க்கென
வேறுபடு நனந்தலைப் பெயரக்
கூறினை பெருமநின் படிமை யானே.

Ibid. 74 : ll. 23–28.

93. பொலந்தார் யானை யியறேர்ப் பொறைய
வேந்தரும் வேளிரும் பிறருங் கீழ்ப்பணிந்து
நின்வழிப் படா ராயி னென்.

Ibid. 75 : ll. 3–5.

94. வெல்போ ராடவர் மறம்புரிந்து காக்கும்
வில்லயி லிறும்பிற் றகடூர் நூறி
பேஎ மன்ற பிறழநோக் கியவ
ரோடுறு கடுமுரண் டுமியச் சென்று
வெம்முனை தபுத்த காலைத் தந்நாட்
டியாடுபரந் தன்ன மாவி
ஞைபரந் தன்ன யானையோன் குன்றே.

Ibid. 78 : ll. 8–14.

95 (a) படியோர் தேய்த்த வாண்மைத் தொடியோர்
தோளிடைக் குழைந்த கோதை மார்ப.

Ibid. 79 : ll. 6–7.

(b) மடையெதிர் கொள்ளு வஞ்சுவரு மரபிற்
கடவு ளயிரை நிலைஇக்
கேடில வாக பெருமநின் புகழே.

Ibid. ll. 17–19.

96. (a) வேறுபுலத் திறுத்த வெல்போ ரண்ணல்

. . . . . .

l. 18.

(b) சுரும்பார் சோலைப் பெரும்பெயற் கொல்லிப்
பெருவாய் மலரொடு பசும்பிடி மகிழ்ந்து
மின்னுமிழ்ந் தன்ன சுடரிழையாயத்துத்
தன்னிறங்காத்த வண்டுபடு தும்பி
ஞெடுங்க ரோதி யொண்ணுத லணிகொளக்
கொடுங்குழைக் கமர்த்த நோக்கி னயவரப்
பெருந்தகைக் கமர்ந்த மென்சொற் றிருமுகத்து
மாணிழை யரிவை காணிய பொருநாட்
பூண்க மாளநின் புரவி நெடுந்தேர்.
முனைகை விட்டு முன்னிலைச் செல்லாது
தூவெதிர்ந்து பெறுஅத் தாவின் மள்ளரொடு
தொன்மருங் கறுத்த லஞ்சி யரண்கொண்டு
துஞ்சா வேந்தருந் துஞ்சுக
விருந்து மாக நின்பெருந் தோட்கே.

ll. 24–37.
Padirrup : 81.

97. பூழியர் கோவே பொலந்தேர்ப் பொறைய.

l. 6.
Ibid. 84.

98. பொன்னவிர் புனைசெய விளங்கும் வெரும்பூ
ஞென்னுப் பூட்கைச் சென்னியர் பெருமா
னிட்ட வெள்வேண் முத்தை.

. . . . . .

ll. 2–4.

யரசவை பணிய வறம்புரிந்து வயங்கிய
மறம்புரி கொள்கை வயங்குசெந் நாவி
னுவலை கூரா க்கவலையி னெஞ்சி
னனவிற் பாடிய நல்லிசைக்
கபிலன் பெற்ற வூரினும் பலவே.

ll. 9–14.
Ibid. 85.

99. புனல்பாய் மகளி ராட வொழிந்த
பொன்செய் பூங்குழை மீமிசைத் தோன்றுஞ்
சாந்துவரு வானி நீரினுந்
தீந்தண் சாயலன் மன்ற தானே.

Ibid. 86: ll. 10–14.

100. வையக மலர்ந்த தொழின்முறை யொழியாது
கடவுட் பெயரிய கானமொடு கல்லுயர்ந்து
தெண்கடல் வளைஇய மலர்தலை யுலகத்துத்
தம்பெயர் போகிய வொன்னார் தேயத்
துளங்கிருங் குட்டந் தொலைய வேலிட்
டணங்குடைக் கடம்பின் முழுமுத றடிந்து
பொருமுர ணெய்திய கழுவுள் புறம்பெற்று
நாம மன்னர் துணிய நூறிக்
கால்வல் புரவி யண்ட ரோட்டிச்
சுடர்வீ வாகை நன்னற் றேய்த்துக்
குருதி விதிர்த்த குவவுச் சேற்றுக் குன்றோ
டுருகெழு மரபி னயிரை பரைஇ
வேந்தரு வேளிரும் பின்வந்து பணியக்
கொற்ற மெய்திய பெரியோர் மருக.

. . . . . .

Ibid 88, ll. 1–14.

ஆரெயி லலைத்த கல்கால் கவணை
நாரறி நறவிற் கொங்கர் கோவே
யுடலுநர் தபுத்த பொலந்தேர்க் குருசில்
வளைகடன் முழவிற் றொண்டியோர் பொருந
நீநீடு வாழிய பெரும நின்வயிற்
றுவைத்த தும்பை நனவுற்று வினவு
மாற்றருந் தெய்வத்துக் கூட்ட முன்னிய
புனன்மலி பேரியா றிழிதந் தாங்கு.

ll. 18–25.

. . . . . .

உறுகா லெடுத்த வோங்குவரற் புணரி
நுண்மண லடைகரை யுடைதருந்
தண்கடற் படப்பை நாடுகிழ வோயே.

ll. 40–42.

101. அறன்வாழ்த்த நற்கண்ட
விறன்மாந்தரன் விறன்மருக

. . . . . .

ll. 12–13.

உருகெழு மரபி னயிரை பரவியுங்
கடலிருப்ப வேலிட்டு
முடலுநர் மிடல்சாய்த்து
மலையவு நிலத்தவு மருப்பம் வெளவிப்
பெற்ற பெரும்பெயர் பலர்கை யிரீஇய
கொற்றத் திருவி னுரவோ ரும்பல்
கட்டிப் புழுக்கிற் கொங்கர் கோவே
மட்டப் புகர்விற் குட்டுவ ரேறே
யெழாத் துணைத்தோட் பூழியர் மெய்ம்மறை
யிலங்குநீர்ப் பரப்பின் மாந்தையோர் பொருந
வெண்பூ வேளையொடு சுரைதலை மயக்கிய
விரவுமொழிக் கட்டூர் வயவர் வேந்தே.

. . . . . .

ll. 19–30.

நின்னாள், திங்க ளனைய வாக திங்கள்
யாண்டோ ரனைய வாக யாண்டே
யூழி யனைய வாக வூழி
வெள்ள வரம்பின வாகென வுள்ளிக்
காண்கு வந்திசின் யானே செருமிக்
குருமென முழங்கு முரசிற்
பெருநல் யானை யிறைகிழவோனே.

ll. 51–57.

Ibid. poem 90.

102. . . . . . . செவ்வேன்
முள்ளூர் மன்னன் கழறொடிக் காரி
செல்லா நல்லிசை நிறுத்த வல்வில்
லோரிக் கொன்று சேரலர்க் கீத்த
செவ்வேற் பலவின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லி
நிலைபெறு கடவு ளாக்கிய
பலர்புகழ் பாவை யன்னநின் னலனே.

Kallāḍanār Aham 209.

103. அமரர்ப் பேணியு மாவுதி யருத்தியு
மரும் பெறன் மரபிற் கரும்பிவட் டந்து
நீரக விருக்கை யாழி சூட்டிய
தொன்னிலை மரபின் முன்னோர் போல
வீகையங் கழற்கா லிரும்பனம் புடையற்
பூவார் காவிற் புனிற்றுப்புலா நெடுவே
லெழுபொறி நாட்டத் தெழாஅத் தாயம்
வழுவின் றெய்தியு மமையாய்.

Avvaiyār Puṛam 99 : ll. 1–8.

104. ஆரங் கண்ணி யடுபோர்ச் சோழ
ரறங்கெழு நல்லவை யுறந்தை யன்ன
பெறவரு நன்கல னெய்தி

. . . . .

அரண்பல கடந்த முரண்கொ டாணை
வாடா வேம்பின் வழுதி கூடல்.

. . . . .

ஆட்கோட் பிழையா வஞ்சுவரு தடக்கைக்
கடும்பகட் டியானை நெடுந்தேர்க் கோதை
திருமா வியனகர்க் கருவூர் முன்றுறைத்
தெண்ணீ ருயர்கரைக் குவைஇய
தண்ணான் பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே.

Nakkīrar Aham 93.

105. கொய்சுவற் புரவிக் கொடித்தேர்ச் செழியன்
முதுநீர் முன்றுறை முசுரி முற்றிக்
களிறுபட வெருக்கிய கல்லென் ஞாட்பி
னரும்புண் ணுறுநரின் வருந்தினள்.

Nakkīrar Aham 57.

106. (*a*) . . . . . . சேரலர்
சுள்ளியம் பேர்யாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வளங்கெழு முசுரி யார்ப்பெழ வளைஇ
யிருஞ்சமங் கடந்து படிமம் வவ்விய
நெடுநல் யானை யடுபோர்ச் செழியன்
கொடிநுடங்கு மறுகிற் கூடல்.

Erukkāṭṭūr Tāyankaṇṇan Aham 146.

(*b*) கலந்தந்த பொற்பாசங்
கழித்தோணியாற் கரைசேர்க்குந்து
மலைத்தாரமுங் கடற்றாரமுந்
தலைப்பெய்து வருநர்க்கீயும்
புனலங் கள்ளின் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டுவன்
முழுங்குகடன் முழவின் முசுரி யன்ன
நலஞ்சால் விழுப்பொருள் பணிந்துவந்து கொடுப்பினும்
புரைய ரல்லோர் வரையல ளிவளெனா?

Puṟam 343 : *Paraṇar.*

107. ஆரிய ரலறத் தாக்கிப் பேரிசைத்
தொன்றுமுதிர் வடவரை வணங்குவிற் பொறித்து
வெஞ்சின வேந்தரைப் பிணித்தோன்
வஞ்சி யன்னவென் னலந்தந்து சென்மே.

Paraṇar in Aham 396 ll. 16–19.

108. பூழியர்பெரும பியானைச்
செருமிகு நோன்றாட் செல்வக் கடுங்கோ
வாழி யாத னென்னுத் தெவ்வ
ருயர்குடை பணித்திவண் விடுவார் மாதோ
நெடிதேறி . . . . . வஞ்சிப் புறமதி லலைக்குங்
கல்லென் பொருனை மணலினு மாங்கட்
பல்லூர் சுற்றிய கழனி
யெல்லாம் விளையு நெல்லினும் பலவே.

Kundukatpāli Ādan Puṛam 387 : ll. 28–35.

109. கடும்பி னடுகல நிறையாக நெடுங்கொடிப்
பூவா வஞ்சியுந் தருகுவ னென்றோ
வண்ண நீவிய வணங்கிறை ப்பணைத்தோ
ளொண்ணுதல் விறலியர் பூவிலை பெறுகென
மாட மதுரையுந் தருகுவன்.

Kovūrkiḻar on Nalaṃ Kiḷḷi Puṛam 32 : ll. 1–5.

110. போரெனிற் புகலும் புனைகழன் மறவர்
காடிடைக் கிடந்த நாடுநனி சேஎய
செல்வே மல்லே மென்னார் கல்லென்
விழவுடை யாங்கண் வேற்றுப்புலத் திறுத்துக்
குணகடல் பின்ன தாகக் குடகடல்
வெண்டலைப் புணரிநின் மான்குளம் பலைப்ப
வலமுறை வருதலு முண்டென் றலம்வந்து
நெஞ்சநடுங் கவலம் பாயத்
துஞ்சாக் கண்ண வடபுலத் தரசே.

Ibid. in Puṛam 31 : ll. 9–17.

111. செறியரிச் சிலம்பிற் குறுந்தொடி மகளிர்
பொலஞ்செய் கிழங்கிற் றெற்றி யாடுந்
தண்ணான் பொருனை வெண்மணற் சிதைய

Ālattūrkiḻar on the Chola who died at Kuḷamuṛṛam the Chola besieging Karuvūr in Puṛam 36 : ll. 3–5.

112. . . . . . ஓங்கிய
வரையளந் தரியாப் பொன்படு நெடுங்கோட்
டிமயஞ் சூடிய வேம விற்பொறி
மாண்வினை .நெடுந்தேர்வானவன் றொலைய
வாடா வஞ்சி வாட்டுநின்
பீடுகெழு நோன்றாள் பாடுங்காலே.

Mārokkattu Nappaśalaiyar on the same Chola in Puṛam 39 : ll. 13–19.

113. கொழுமீன் குறைய வொதுங்கி வள்ளிதழ்க்
கழுநீர் மேய்ந்த கயவா யெருமை
பைங்கறி நிவந்த பலவி னீழண்
மஞ்சண் மெல்லிலை மயிர்ப்புறந் தைவர
விளையர விளங்கணுற மெல்குபு பெயராக்
குளவிப் பள்ளிப் பாயல் கொள்ளுங்
குடபுலங் காவலர் மருமா னொன்னார்
வடபுல விமயத்து வாங்குவிற் பொறித்த
வெழுவுறழ் திணிதோ ளியறோர்க் குட்டுவன்
வருபுனல் வாயில் வஞ்சியும் வறிதே.

Nallūr Nattattan in Śirupāṇ: ll. 41–50.

114. மைந்த ராடிய மயங்குபெருந் தானைக்
கொங்கு புறம்பெற்ற கொற்றவேந்தே

. . . .

வேந்து புறங்கொடுத்த வீந்துகு பறந்தலை
மாட மயங்கெரி மண்டிக் கோடிறு
புருமெரி மலையி னிருநில ஞ்சேரச்
சென்றோன்- - - - - - - -
வஞ்சி முற்றம் வயக்கள ஞக
வஞ்சா மறவ ராட்டுபோர்க் கழித்துக்
கொண்டனை பெரும குடபுலத் ததரி.

Kovūr Kiḻar on Kurāppalli Vaḷavan in Puṛam 373.

115. இவனியா ரென்குவை யாயி னிவனே
புலிநிறக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைய
வெய்கணை கிழித்த பகட்டெழின் மார்பின்
மறலி யென்ன களிற்றுமிசை யோனே
களிறே முன்னீர் வழங்கும் நாவாய் போலவும்
பன்மீ னுப்பட் டிங்கள் போலவுஞ்
சுறவினத் தன்ன வாளோர் மொய்ப்ப
மரீஇயோ ரறியாது மைந்துபட் டன்றே
நோயில ணுகிப் பெயர்கதி லம்ம.

Uṛaiyūr Eṇicchēri Muḍamośiyār on Perunaṛkiḷḷi of the Crowned head: Puṛam 13: ll. 1–9.